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Cover: Some of the Western European coarse earthenware ceramics recovered from the 1760 wreck of the *Machault*. Front: top, Type 1 jugs; right, Type 3 storage jar; centre left, marbled-slip bowl (miscellaneous group); bottom left, Type 3 small round-bottomed cooking pots. Back: top, Type 1 small bowls (centre one probably made by an apprentice); left centre, left, Type 2 flanged plate, right, dish with applied green colour decoration (miscellaneous group); right centre, Type 1 large lipped bowl; bottom, Type 1 jugs, from third-largest-size group. (Photo by G. Vandervlugt.)

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The Battle of the Restigouche

by Judith Beattie and Bernard
Pothier

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Abstract

The battle of the Restigouche, 1760, was fought between the remnants of a French relief fleet bound for Montreal and a British squadron. The three French ships, only half the number that had sailed from Bordeaux in the spring, captured six British vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On learning that the British had already reached the St. Lawrence River, the French fleet sought refuge in Chaleur Bay and the Restigouche River where its numbers were further increased by 25 to 30 Acadian sloops and schooners. A British fleet from the Fortress of Louisbourg made contact with the French on 22 June. By 8 July, the final day of the engagement, the French had lost, in addition to 10 vessels sunk across channels in the river to halt the British advance, 22 or 23 vessels, most of which the French destroyed to prevent the British from taking them. The loss of the French fleet and its supplies contributed to the fall of New France. The battle was the last naval engagement between France and Great Britain for the possession of North America.

Submitted for publication 1973,
by Judith Beattie, Toronto,
and Bernard Pothier, Canadian War
Museum, Ottawa.

Sommaire

À l'automne 1759, la Nouvelle-France avait désespérément besoin de l'aide de sa métropole. À ce moment-là, la ville de Québec et la forteresse de Louisbourg étaient déjà aux mains des Britanniques et la menace pesait sur Montréal. Les agents du roi à Montréal demandèrent à la France de leur envoyer tous les approvisionnements nécessaires à la défense de Montréal et à la reprise de Québec. Par la même occasion, ils prédisaient la chute de la Nouvelle-France si les secours n'atteignaient pas Montréal au printemps suivant, avant l'arrivée des ravitaillements britanniques.

La France essaya de répondre à cet appel, mais la flotte de secours composée de six navires, le *Marchault*, le *Bienfaisant*, le *Marquis de Malauze*, la *Fidélité*, le *Soleil* et l'*Aurore*, quitta Bordeaux le 10 avril 1760, beaucoup plus tard qu'on ne l'avait espéré, emportant des troupes et des provisions inférieures à la demande. Puis, la moitié de la flotte fut perdue avant la traversée de l'Atlantique. Le *Soleil* et l'*Aurore* furent capturés par les navires britanniques bloquant Bordeaux et la *Fidélité* chavira.

Après s'être emparé de six navires britanniques dans le golfe du Saint-Laurent et avoir appris que les Britanniques l'avaient précédé dans le fleuve, la flotte française, malgré les ordres reçus, se réfugia dans la baie des Chaleurs et la rivière Restigouche. Là, elle se joignit aux réfugiés acadiens et d'autres Acadiens accoururent avec leurs sloops et leurs goélettes pour grossir la flotte

de 25 à 30 navires. Les alliés Micmacs vinrent augmenter le nombre des troupes françaises sur terre.

Apprenant la présence d'une flotte française dans le golfe, les Britanniques envoyèrent deux flottes à sa poursuite, une de la ville de Québec et une autre de la forteresse de Louisbourg. Celle de Louisbourg, commandée par le capitaine Byron, fut la première à atteindre les Français.

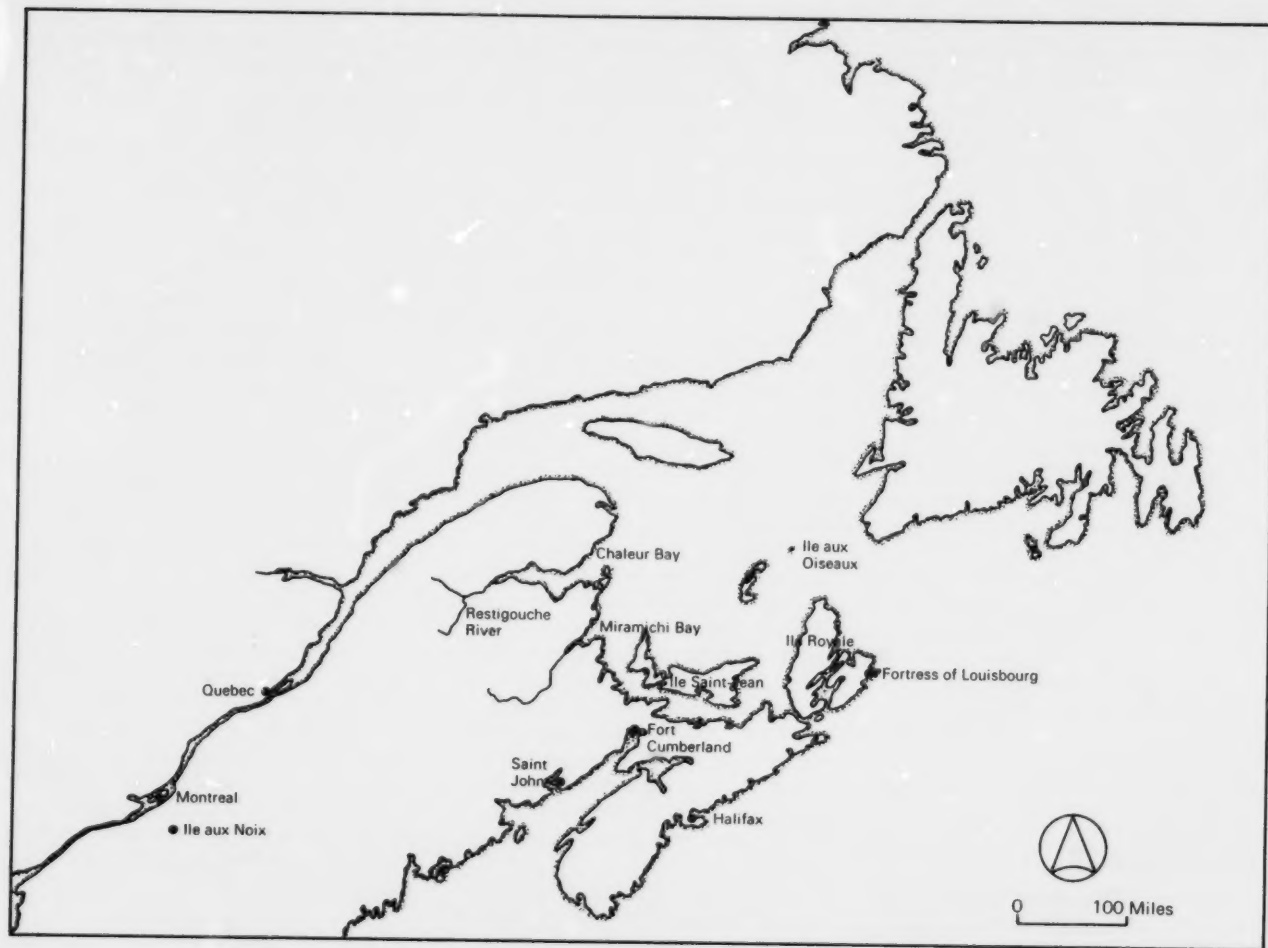
Jouissant d'une meilleure position que les Britanniques, troupes supérieures, défensive assurée, mobilité sur terre et sur mer, les commandants français, les capitaines Giraudais et D'Angeac, n'en avaient pas moins le moral bas. Les événements qui s'étaient déroulés en Amérique du Nord et en Europe avaient miné le moral des officiers et des soldats de sorte que ni Giraudais ni D'Angeac ne purent tirer profit de leurs avantages stratégiques. Byron ne fit qu'appliquer les règles des engagements navals même si sa puissance de feu supérieure aurait justifié un écart à la stratégie classique, particulièrement si les Britanniques se rendaient compte de l'état d'esprit des Français.

Du 22 juin au 8 juillet, date du dernier engagement, les navires britanniques montèrent péniblement la rivière Restigouche, ralentis par les batteries terrestres françaises, les épaves coulées au travers des chenaux et surtout par le fait que leurs commandants ne connaissaient pas

les chenaux et hauts-fonds de ce cours d'eau. Au soir du 8 juillet, la flotte française, y compris le *Marchault*, le *Marquis de Malauze* et le *Bienfaisant*, était détruite. Outre les 10 navires coulés dans les chenaux, les Français avaient perdu 22 ou 23 bâtiments dont plusieurs qu'ils avaient sabordés eux-mêmes pour éviter de les voir tomber aux mains des ennemis.

La bataille influa fortement sur le sort de la Nouvelle-France. La flotte française n'ayant pas réussi à livrer ses troupes et ses provisions à la ville de Montréal assiégée, il fallut abandonner l'idée de reprendre Québec. La destruction de leur flotte sur la Restigouche empêcha les Français de mener à bien leur projet d'établissement d'une base solide dans cette région. En fin de compte, Montréal capitula et la Nouvelle-France devint britannique. Cela ne fut sans doute pas le résultat direct de la bataille de Restigouche, mais cette dernière, en entraînant la perte de la flotte et du gros de sa cargaison, précipita les événements. Cette bataille est aussi mémorable parce qu'elle fut le dernier engagement naval entre la Grande-Bretagne et la France pour la possession de l'Amérique du Nord.

1 Location of Restigouche River. (Map by S. Epps.)



Introduction

Over the past 200 years, the facts of the battle of the Restigouche have been forgotten or altered by imaginative and misinformed storytellers. The bullets, buttons and bones found on local farms, the occasional glimpse of charred timbers protruding from shallow waters, and a desire to explain such phenomena have helped to form a tragic tale parading as a description of the battle. Also, those who disdain popular legend view the battle as poorly documented. When Doughty published a collection of documents on the battle¹ it was considered to be a complete record or, if not complete, certainly sufficient for such a trivial battle.

It is as a minor engagement in the Seven Years' War that the battle of the Restigouche has most frequently been described, when described at all. But although the French fleet was small and although the battle was waged in an obscure part of the Atlantic coast, the battle's outcome was significant for the future of New France. Because the French fleet never delivered its stores to the beleaguered troops at Montreal, the troops were forced to abandon their attempt to regain Quebec City. Nor could the French establish a strong base in Acadia. At length Montreal itself capitulated and New France became British. These events may not have been necessary results of the battle of the Restigouche, but were precipitated by the loss of the fleet.

Background to the Fleet's Departure for New France

In the autumn of 1759 New France desperately needed France's help. Montreal was short of food and military supplies for the troops there. With the British triumphant in Quebec City and the Fortress of Louisbourg, morale was low. Only a swift and generous French response to local demands could restore confidence and make reconquest practical.

All officials in New France were concerned with the situation. Vaudreuil, the governor, repeatedly demanded French support. Bigot, the intendant, and Lévis, the head of the forces, repeated Vaudreuil's pleas, and Joseph Cadet, the *munitionnaire* (commissary) whose organizational skills were so greatly required, endorsed their appeals.

Cadet had previously been successful in organizing the supply of the colony. He lived in New France which enabled him to personally estimate the quantity and quality of supplies required and to supervise their distribution when they arrived. Purchase of the articles in France was left to various *armateurs* (outfitters), mostly from Bordeaux, with whom he corresponded. The process was lucrative for both *munitionnaire* and *armateurs*, but apparently those who depended on the

supplies were satisfied. Lévis wrote to Berryer, minister of the colonies:

*Je ne puis me dispenser d'avoir l'honneur de vous rendre les meilleurs témoignages du Sieur Cadet, munitioinaire général de cette colonie. C'est un homme des plus zélés pour le bien du service et il a eu les plus grandes ressources pour faire subsister les armées; ce qu'il n'a pu faire qu'avec des dépenses énormes. . . . Si vous n'avez la bonté d'avoir égard à ses dépenses, je suis persuadé que les pertes seront très considérables.*¹

Cadet's skills can be judged by his previous success in an unpredictable and difficult business, but the private financiers on whom he depended were becoming unwilling to cope with the increasingly effective British navy. The only hope for the survival of New France was state aid, but officials in New France feared that their letters would not seem as urgent as the blockades and battles with which France had to contend in Europe. Therefore Vaudreuil sent with the bundles of letters a personal messenger, the Chevalier Le Mercier, head of the artillery. It was Le Mercier's mission to gain from the state the supplies that the military would require to retake Quebec City the next spring.

Le Mercier had a difficult task to perform and the recommendations he carried with him were designed to add weight to his demands. Vaudreuil declared him to be "de réputation zélé et plein de probité"²

and Lévis testified to Le Mercier's preparation for the mission: "je l'ai instruit de ma façon de penser. . . je l'ay mené avec moy dans tous les endroits ou jay été employé, et personne ne peut vous rendre de meilleurs témoignages que moy."³ This indoctrination programme was designed to enable Le Mercier *pour détailler nos besoins, de vous dire notre situation; et quelle qu'elle soit, j'ose néanmoins assurer le ministre que la colonie ne sera pas prise avant le mois de mai, ce que donnera le temps de nous envoyer le secours qu'il plaira au Roi de vous faire parvenir.*⁴

On the evening of 25 November 1759 Le Mercier, with his precious bundle of letters, left Sillery aboard the *Machault* and in the company of a few of the ships which had been convoyed to Quebec in the spring of 1759. After fighting his way past the British fleet and land-batteries, Captain Kanon conducted the messenger to Brest on 23 December 1759 and personally accompanied him to Versailles.

France had not entirely forgotten New France's plight. In early December the Committee of General Marine Service had read and approved a plan of action against the British and amongst its recommendations appeared: "il paraist indispensable d'envoyer en Canada au plus tard vers le 15 février 1760 un secours en vivres et en munitions

qui puisse mettre en Etat de s'y soutenir ceux qui jusques a present s'y sont aussi bravement deffendus."⁵

This vague plan at least prepared the officials for the more detailed and more urgent demands voiced by Le Mercier. Because they express so fully the dire straits into which New France had fallen, Le Mercier's entire memorandum is quoted: *Mémoire Relatif à la situation du Canada, en se reduisant à l'indispensable pour conserver au Roy cette colonie jusqu'au Printems 1761.*

Article 1^{er}

La France ne peut garder ces possessions en l'amérique Septentrionale qu'en y faisant passer des secours en hommes, munitions de guerre et de couche, sous l'escorte de cinq à six vaisseaux de guerre.

Article 2^{ième}

Le succès de cette entreprise dépendra de l'activité de l'armement qui doit être fini dans le cours de février, afin de prévenir l'enemy dans le fleuve [Saint-Laurent].

Article 3^{ième}

Il faut nécessairement faire le siège de Québec et l'avoir pris dans le cours de May, tems auquel l'ennemy ne peut tourner de l'Isle aux Noix, a cause des hautes eaux du printemps.

Article 4^{ième}

L'objet des vaisseaux de guerre et des frégates sera non seulement d'escorter la flotte, mais encore d'arrêter l'escadre ennemie, si elle nous suivait de près.

Article 5^{ième}

On établirait les batteries retranchés sur l'Isle aux Coudres et à la côte du Nord pour obliger les Anglais à lui faire l'attaque.

Article 6^{ième}

Les vaisseaux de guerre resteraient mouillés à la petite rivière pour pouvoir combattre les vaisseaux ou frégates ennemis qui auraient passé le Gouffre.

Article 7^{ième}

Si les anglais avaient fait le Gouffre avec les forces navales trop supérieures, alors notre escadre irait s'emboîser au dessus de la traverse pour y arrêter l'ennemy et envoie-rait échouer une ou deux frégates le long de St. Joachin pour l'empêcher de passer avec des frégates ou transports par le Nord de l'Isle d'Orléans.

Article 8^{ième}

On pourrait mettre 20 canons de 36 pour lester les vaisseaux de guerre avec lesquels on établirait des batteries à la pointe de Lévis et au bout du sud ouest de l'Isle d'Orléans, lesquels protégeraient la retraite de nos vaisseaux et empêcheraient ceux des anglais de se mouiller sous le canon de Québec.

Article 9^{ième}

En supposant qu'il fallut enfin céder à la force, les vaisseaux de guerre et les frégates monteraient mouiller au dessus du Sault de la Chaudière. L'armée du siège y aurait établi une redoute, et une autre à la rivière opposée, afin d'y recevoir du canon et des mortiers; c'est le lieu le plus étroit du fleuve.

Article 10^{ième}

Il faudrait fixer le nombre d'hommes au moins à 4000, tant des troupes de l'Isle Royale de la Colonie, qu'en volontaires tirés des régiments. Cela ne ferait en Canada que 8000 soldats, tant pour la garde des frontières que pour le siège de Québec, dont la garnison est de 4 à 5,000 hommes.

On observera que ces soldats ne seront pas une dépense. Le fret en doit être moins cher puisqu'ils tendront lieu d'équipage dans les vaisseaux de transports, et serviront aux manoeuvres basses.

Article 11^{ième}

On ne peut envoyer moins de 50 quintaux de farine, en supposant seulement 20 mille rations par jour, à raison de livre et demie de pain, quoi qu'elle doive être de deux livres. Il faudra 36 livres de farine par mois pour chaque ration ce qui fera pour un mois 7.200 Quintaux, et pour les sept mois de campagne 50,400 quintaux. On voit qu'il faudra tirer des récoltes de quoy faire passer l'hyver à 800 soldats, aux ouvriers des postes et aux sauvages des différentes nations; quoi qu'on ne compte que 20 Mille Rations il en a été consommé près de 30 l'été dernier.

Article 12^{ième}

Il faudrait 20 mille quarts de lard ou au moins 15 mille; 20 mille rations pendant les sept mois de campagne à raison de demie livre font 21 m. Qx. pour 10 mille rations pendant les cinq mois d'hyver, 7,500 Qx. ce qui fait 28,500 Quintaux net à 200 [livres] par quart,

14,250 quarts. Dans les distributions il y a un déchet pour les pezuées de 10 [livres] pour cent. Il y a des lards qui tournent; il serait bien avantageux, si il y en avait d'excédent, que le Roi en fit vendre aux peuples qui ni pourront plus trouver de viandes de boucheries, l'espèce étant détruite.

Article 13^{ième}

Vingt-quatre pièces de canon de 24 pour le siège; douze mortiers de munitions proportionnellement ainsy qu'il a été demandé par le mémoire dressé à M. Accaron.

Article 14^{ième}

Les marchandises de traites pour sauvages, les toiles pour les campemens, et autres besoins du service, ainsy que les étoffes pour l'habillement des troupes et des colons, d'après le mémoire de demande de Monsieur Bigot intendant.

Article 15^{ième}

De prendre un arrangement qui puisse remettre la confiance aux peuples et leur faire espérer un avenir pour le papier, en quoi consiste leur fortune, sans quoy on ne sçait si on pourra se promettre de trouver chez le Canadien le même zèle et la même volonté.

Article 16^{ième}

Les marchandises sèches et liquides étant au Canada à un prix excessif pour leur disette le Roy pourrait y envoyer les besoins des peuples sous le nom de quelques négociants auxquels sa Majesté payerait commission. Avec un million elle en retirerait plus de dix [millions] en lettres de change ou papiers, et ce serait un moyen certain pour rétablir la confiance et liquider les dettes de l'état.

Article 17^{ième}

Fixer la somme pour laquelle l'Intendant tirera des lettres de change, afin qu'elles soient exactement payées et tirées au prorata de la remise que chacun ferait. Ordonner l'enregistrement de celles de l'année pour qu'elles puissent porter rente au particulier.

Article 18^{ième}

Si ce secours arriveraient en Canada après les forces navalles de l'ennemy, elles ne pourraient dégager la Colonie, tomberaient à pur perte pour le Roy. On pourrait faire un double projet qui ne serait déca-cheter qu'en ce cas.

Article 19^{ième}

Il faut donner des ordres précis pour donner dans les glaces sitôt qu'on arrivera rien n'est si rare que d'y voir périr un bâtiment, et il serait préférable que ce malheur arrivât à un ou deux que d'entrer trop tard dans le fleuve.

Article 20^{ième}

Si la France n'envoie pas un secours suffisant pour faire le siège de Québec, il est inutile d'y envoyer, et la colonie sera certainement perdue.

Article 21^{ième}

Si le roy se détermine à envoyer en Canada les secours demandés, on regarde comme certain que s'ils peuvent se rendre avant ceux des Anglais, que Québec sera repris; que n'ayant plus rien à craindre par le fleuve toute la Colonie pourra se porter soit aux rapides, soit à l'île

aux Noix, et que l'ennemy ne pénétra point; nous avons d'ailleurs nous promettre les succès les plus heureux de l'union qui règne entre Mrs de Vaudreuil et le Chevalier de Lévis, qui n'ont pour objet que le salut de la Colonie et la gloire des armes du Roy.

Article 22^{ème}

D'après le parti que Sa Majesté aura pris sur le Canada il serait essentiel que l'on envoyât une frégate à la Baye française à une douzaine de lieues de l'embouchure de la Rivière St-Jean, pour y mettre à terre le Sieur St. Simon ou quelqu'autre officier de la Colonie, pour porter par terre avec trois Accadiens des dépêches en chiffre au Général.

Cette même frégate pourrait ensuite croiser entre Baston [Boston] et Halifax, envoyer à quelque part de terre neuve les prises en vivres qu'elle ferait et les faire entrer en Rivière, sitôt que les glaces le permettraient.

Article 23^{ème}

On supplie pour dernier article de faire attention que le tems s'écoule, et que l'on ne peut se promettre de succès que par la grand activité.⁶

The colony's case had been laid before the court. It was in France that the fate of the expedition lay. Between the private businessmen and the state an amicable arrangement would have to be negotiated in the short time available.

In early December the president of the Navy Board outlined the aims of the expedition to the Gradis brothers when he invited them to send their ships to New France:

Il est question de faire passer de bonne heure en Canada les secours que les circonstances peuvent permettre pour mettre cette colonie en état de se soutenir l'année prochaine Mon intention est de ne pas dépenser au delà de ce qu'on peut payer, et de préférer un secours prompt, quoique médiocre, à un secours puissant dont les préparatifs annonceraient l'objet et en retarderaient l'expédition, j'ai cru ce parti préférable à tout autre.⁷

Even though, to judge from a notation, this letter was never sent, it states succinctly the official attitude that was to cause excessive delays. One problem was to fit out the ships at the lowest price. The Desclaux price was taken as a model until the outfitters stated in late January that the lateness of the season prevented them from furnishing the promised amounts of salt beef and salt pork, and their price changed. Contracts were negotiated with several outfitters: the *Machault*, owned by Cadet, was outfitted by Ravesies and Louis Cassan; Cadet's other ship, the *Bienfaisant*, was fitted by Lamaletie; the *Soleil* and the *Fidélité* were armed by Desclaux, Bethmann and Imbert; and the *Aurore* and the *Marquis de Malauze* by Lamaletie.⁸ Specific contracts were made with the Sieur Lagarosse for "gilets, bas, couvertures, hamacs," and with the Sieur Lejoy for 5,500 pairs of shoes while

arms and Indian trade goods were supplied from the stores at Rochefort.

Once these contracts were granted and their fulfillment supervised, other problems arose. The crews of the ships which had returned from the 1759 expedition demanded payment and refused to leave again. The amount of stores had been miscalculated and quantities of wheat had to be unloaded and left in France. Four hundred men were sent when 4,000 had been requested and supplies were similarly reduced. The wind was not favourable for an early departure down the river from Bordeaux. When the fleet finally left on 10 April 1760, the season was advanced and the supplies carried were insufficient. The failure of the expedition was predictable.

The Voyage from Bordeaux to Canada

Led by the *Machault*, the little fleet set out down the river from Bordeaux. The complete fleet consisted of six ships: the *Machault*, 500 tons, 150-man crew, Captain Giraudais; the *Bienfaisant*, 320 tons, Captain Jean Gramon; the *Marquis de Malauze*, 354 tons, Captain Antoine Lartigue; the *Fidélité*, 450 tons, Captain Louis Kanon le jeune; the *Soleil*, 350 tons, Captain Clemencau; and the *Aurore*, 450 tons, Captain François Desmortier. With these six, however, were travelling "plusieurs autres qui setaient mist sous mon Escortte pour vidé les Caps [Cape Finisterre]." ¹ and it was in escorting these ships that the tiny fleet ran into difficulty. As the president of the Navy Board wrote, "il est facheux que ce convoi ait été obligé d'aller chercher les caps qui sont ordinairement les lieux ou les Ennemis se tiennent en croisière." ²

On 11 April, the second day out, the fleet sighted two British ships — part of Boscawen's blockade — and the signal was given "Sauve qui peut." Following the instructions given to Giraudais to take any precautions "pour la conservation de son convoi pendant la traversée en cas de rencontre facheuse," ³ the *Machault* led the British on a ten and one-half hour chase away from the fleet. Night saved the *Machault*, but only the *Marquis de Malauze* and the *Bienfaisant* rejoined the frigate, the former on 12 April, the latter on 17 April.

Two ships, the *Soleil* and the *Aurore*, from the already small fleet had been lost to the Canadian cause

while just off Europe. A newspaper account of the ships taken by Boscawen mentioned:

Le Soleil of Bordeaux, of 360 tons, 12 guns, 45 men, laden with stores, ammunition and provision and commanded by M. Du Chambon, taken by Lieutenant Norwood in his Majesty's Ship Adventure. She had on board one Captain three Corporals and 60 private men, and sailed from Bordeaux the 10th of April. ⁴

The *Fidélité* suffered as final a fate as the captured ships:

Le vingtième jour de notre navigation ce navir coulait à fond par un vague d'eau, les quatre officiers de troupes, deux soldats, le capitaine et onze hommes de son équipage nous sommes rendu dans un canot à une des Isles des Assores. ⁵

After this inauspicious start in which half of the convoy was lost, the journey progressed uneventfully until the fleet approached the St. Lawrence River. In mid-May, at Ile aux Oiseaux the French captured a British ship on its way to Quebec City. When they learned from their prisoners that the British fleet had preceded them up the river, they called a hasty council and decided to make for Chaleur Bay.

By 16 May the fleet had arrived at Gaspé where they encountered English ships. Duncan Campbell, the master of one of the English ships, recorded the affair:

on the 16th about two in the afternoon being close in with Gaspy I put about and stood off from it, and soon discovered three ships standing in from Eastward with English Colours flying being then very nigh them, and one of them to Windward and the other two a head, I saw no possibility of escaping them even had I known them to be french ships, which I never judged until the weathermost [the Bienfaisant] bore down and desired me to strike to the King of France, the other two bore down upon four more English Vessels that were to leeward and having got information from a French pilot that I had that Lord Colvill was got up the River. Having passed through the Bay of Chaleur they entered the River Ristigush. . . . ⁶

The other English ships captured that day were the "*Augustus*, Barnabas Velman [Captain Wellman] ⁷ from New London, but last from Louisbourg, Bangs [Captain Banks] ⁸ from New York, Cushing from Casco-Bay; Campbell [possibly Duncan Campbell], Swinney and Maxwell from Halifax, bound up river." ⁹ On 17 May they captured two more ships and, as a prisoner later wrote, "if the weather had not been foggy, would have taken all." ¹⁰ With their prizes in tow, the French convoy made its way into its chosen refuge, Chaleur Bay.

Chaleur Bay

Why, when faced by the fact that the British had won the race to the St. Lawrence, did the French turn to Chaleur Bay for refuge? The secret instructions under which Giraudais was operating clearly stated that in such an event the fleet was to proceed to Louisiana and St. Domingue to discharge the troops and goods.¹ For some reason, the fleet disobeyed these orders.

Chaleur Bay would appeal to the men on the three French ships for several reasons. The troops were predominantly former members of the company of Ile Royale. Some had been on expeditions in the Miramichi-Chaleur Bay area about the time of the capture of the Fortress of Louisbourg² and knew of the posts in the area. They also knew that the British had little accurate information about this part of Acadia. But their most pressing need was food. Even though the French carried foodstuffs in their cargo, their own rations were depleted: much of the beef and horse flesh supplied for their rations was rotten,³ the biscuit had been used and fresh bread could not be baked aboard ship. Fresh water was also needed. Of all the areas where their needs could be met, it was felt that the Restigouche River would best fulfill all requirements.

By 1760 Restigouche River was a centre for Acadian refugees. A mission to the Micmacs, active since the early 1700s, formed the nucleus of the settlement at Old Mission Point. After the expulsion order in 1755, escaping Acadians made their

way to the Saint John, Miramichi and Chaleur Bay areas. Macbeath dates the prominence of the Chaleur Bay area from 1758 "when Louisbourg fell and the Miramichi and St. John were raided."⁴ Families began to gather from Ile Saint-Jean and Gaspé when the French set up a post near Pointe à Bourdeau on the Restigouche,⁵ but the difficulty of sending stores to this area caused great suffering to the growing group of refugees. Bourdon, the head of the post, wrote in April 1760, "La disette est si grande qu'après avoir mangé les animaux domestiques nous avons été obligés de manger des peaux de boeuf et de castor pour subsister."⁶ Not only did the French ships sorely need a safe, secluded harbour in which to prepare themselves for a long voyage, but the residents of the Restigouche sorely needed the stores the ships carried.

About 18 May the fleet and its train of prizes proceeded into Chaleur Bay. Near its mouth they discharged St. Simon, the swiftest and most trustworthy of the troops, to carry news from France and from the ships overland to Montreal. The next day the troops were landed on

the north shore (at Pointe à la Batterie) and a camp established. While one party of sailors set to work building a battery, another unloaded one of the prize ships, the *Augustus*, to serve as a scout. Ovens were built to bake bread and fresh water was obtained.

Captain D'Angeac, now commander of all the troops, discovered the desperate straits of the Acadians at Bourdon's post.

*J'ai trouvé dans ce Sejour de Misere plus de mille cinq cents ame Extenué de nanisions et mourant de faim ayant été obligé de manger des paux de Castore pendant tout l'hiver a qui je fait donner une demie Livres de farine par jour et un Carton de Boeuf en attendant des ordres de Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil ce petit secours les a tiré de portes de la mort ce que je continue jusqu'à ce jour.*⁷

Each day, as word spread of the fleet's cargo, Acadians gathered to share the food. But little was done either to protect the fleet or to relieve it of its cargo. The only precaution taken was to send out, on 12 June, a reconnaissance craft under the Sieur Lavary le Roy, a first lieutenant from the *Machault*. While waiting for the messenger to return from Vaudreuil in Montreal, the French considered themselves to be well-protected in their harbour.

2 "A Plan of Ristigouche Harbour, In Chaleur Bay, Surveyed in 1760. by the Kings Ship *Norwich*. One Sea League Equal to 3 Miles." (Public Archives of Canada.)



Reactions to the Fleet's Arrival

While the body of the French troops were creating order in Chaleur Bay, St. Simon was carrying messages to Vaudreuil. After 25 gruelling days over the Gaspé mountains and past enemy pickets, he arrived at Montreal. With the official correspondence from France came the unhappy news that the relief mission had halted in Chaleur Bay. On 13 June Lévis recorded in his journal: "In the night we received news from France by a courier sent from Restigouche in Acadia where our ships destined for Quebec had stopped."¹

Other runners were supposed to follow St. Simon. On 16 June Vaudreuil wrote: "It was M. de St. Simon who brought me the first letters and I know that Messieurs Aubert and La Bruer should bring me duplicates and triplicates;"² and on 21 June: "MM. Aubert and La Bruyère should arrive before long; they were to leave six days after M. de St. Simon, but they are not as good walkers as he is."³ These officers arrived on 13 July 1760, a full month after St. Simon.⁴

At last the French officials in New France had received communications from their superiors. After waiting hopefully for the arrival of the fleet with supplies, they were disappointed to learn that none of the food or arms could be at their disposal. Equally unhappy was the news that bills of exchange would be discontinued. Berryer, the minister of the colonies, did express the opinion that "we shall have peace towards the middle of the Campaign," and that, "provided we can

hold out against the English forces now in North America, we need fear nothing, as the enemy can not reinforce them in any way, at least not in the matter of troops."⁵ A later chronicler confirmed that "ce secours tout médiocre qu'il était Eut peut-etre suffi pour reprendre quebec ou au moins pour empecher des anglais d'Etendre plus loing Leurs Conquetes pour cette année."⁶ The physical and mental distress of the Montreal group was increased by the lack of enthusiasm for their cause in France, but their immediate concern was to instruct the fleet at anchor in Chaleur Bay.

Soon after St. Simon's arrival, Vaudreuil drafted instructions for D'Angeac. *Mémoire pour servir d'Instruction à Monsieur Danjac, Chevalier de Saint Louis, Capitaine d'Infanterie. Article 1^{er}*

Monsieur Danjac prendra le Commandement en chef de tous les Postes et possessions françaises dans l'Acadie frontière du Canada.

Article 2^{ième}
Il établira son principal poste à Ristigouche dans le lieu et la position qui luy paraîtront les plus favorables pour la maintenir contre les forces que les Anglais pourraient employer pour le déposter.

Il fera faire pour cet effet des retranchements et autres ouvrages qu'il jugera nécessaires.

Article 3^{ième}

Il placera Monsieur de Niverville ou autre officier à son choix à Miramichi pour y commander qu'il croira nécessaire.

Article 4^{ième}

Il aura une personne de confiance à la Rivière Saint Jean pour remplacer Monsieur de Niverville qui y commande actuellement.

Article 5^{ième}

Il fera circuler dans tous les postes et lieux où les Acadiens sont établis ou réfugiés, notre manifeste de ce jour et celui du cinq avril et notre lettre au sujet de la bataille du vingt-huit du même mois.

Article 6^{ième}

Ces manifestes et la lecture des lettres que nous luy adressons à cachet volant pour Messieurs Jourdon et Niverville, l'instruiront des intrigues et rubriques qui ont donné ouverture aux articles de son mission^{ne} que les Anglais attribuent injustement aux Acadiens. Nous pensons que les Acadiens l'auront encore plus parfaitement instruit de ces faits. Nous désirons qu'il ait pu avoir les originaux des lettres et autres pièces dont on prétend que Monsieur l'abbé Mannach, Monsieur l'abbé Maillart sont les autres, il ne négligera rien pour se les procurer. . . .

Article 7^{ième}

Il ne perdra pas un instant pour savoir exactement le nombre d'hommes en état de porter les armes qu'il y a dans la partie de l'Acadie, il fera un recensement de ceux qui auront leurs fusils en état et de ceux qui ne sont point armés.

Article 8^{ième}

Il rassemblera près de lui ces Accadiens, soit en total, soit en partie, il n'oubliera rien pour rappeler ceux qui sont à Beauséjour [Fort Cumberland].

Il établira un officier ou autre personne de confiance dans tous les lieux où il y aura des Accadiens pour veiller à leur sûreté, et leur faire exécuter Les ordres.

Il fera ensuite un recensement du nombre d'âmes de tout sexe, paroisse par paroisse, ainsi que des nations sauvages, village par village.

Article 9^{ième}

Il fera mettre les vivres, munitions de guerre, fusils et généralement tout ce qui compose la cargaison de la frégate, le Machault et autres bâtiments en lieu de sûreté; il donnera à Monsieur Banzagier faisant les fonctions de commissaire, toutes les facilités que dépendront de lui pour accélérer la décharge de ces bâtiments.

Ce commissaire fera faire des inventaires séparés de chaque navire, Monsieur Dangac nous en enverra des expéditions.

Article 10^{ième}

Les magasins et autres bâtiments nécessaires pour loger ces navires etc., seront faits gratuitement par les soldats et accadiens de même que les retranchemens et fortifications, il dira à ces derniers que nous n'avons en cela pour objet que leur propre sécurité.

Il pourra cependant s'il le juge nécessaire, gratifier de quelques effets des magasins, les soldats et

Accadiens plus zélés aux travaux en usant de ménagement ce que nous soumettons à sa prudence.

Il ne sera délivré sous quelque prétexte que ce soit aucun certificat, l'intention du Roy étant d'éteindre toutes ces sortes de dépenses.

Il ne se fait aucun achat directement ou indirectement.

Article 11^{ième}

La Ration sera composée comme il suit, en observant de n'avoir recours au lard que lorsqu'il n'y aura plus de boeuf salé.

Sçavoir

Au commandant, aux officiers, aux Missionnaires, au commissaire et au garde magasin: Une livre 1/2 de pain, Une livre de boeuf salé ou demi livre de lard, un quarteron de pois, chopine de vin;

aux soldats: Une livre 1/2 de pain, une demi livre de boeuf salé ou un quarteron de lard, un quarteron de pois;

aux Accadiens hommes et femmes: Une livre de farine; aux enfans: Une demi livre de farine.

Toutes ces rations seront délivrées sous les billets que Monsieur Danjac tirera sur le commissaire en non sur le garde magasin, il tiendra la main à ce que cette ration ne soit donnée qu'aux personnes effectives et prendra les plus justes mesures pour obtenir à toute fausse consommation.

Article 12^{ième}

Nous lui observons tous le secret que les vivres qu'il a avec lui particulièrement le lard graisse, boeuf salé, vin, eau-de-vie, pois et jambon sont la plus sûre et unique ressource de la colonie, qu'il en est de même des munitions de guerre et

des menues, hanches, aussi nous lui recommandons la plus grande économie nous ne lui cachons pas que si, comme le Ministre nous le fait espérer; nous avons la nouvelle de la paix, ou que nous soyons dans des circonstances moins critiques, nous pourrions avoir recours à ces articles des cette automne.

Il echartera les Accadiens de continuer à s'industrialiser pour vivre par leur pêche, tant comme s'ils n'avaient point du ration.

Article 13^{ième}

Il réunira aussi les nations sauvages et leur recommandera également d'employer leurs ressources pour vivre, il les assistera seulement en poudre et plomb, il pourra néanmoins faire délivrer quelques secours en farine aux sauvages que seront près de lui étant essentiel de leur ôter l'envie d'aller aux anglais.

Il fera valoir ces secours aux Accadiens et aux sauvages et leur en fera espérer de plus considérables sitôt la conclusion de la paix.

Article 14^{ième}

Les vivres qui étaient l'hiver donner à Médoctek [Meductic] y ont été conservés, il pourra établir un commandant dans ce lieu qui l'avancement jusqu'à Ocpak [Aucpac] à la nouvelle de la paix.

Article 15^{ième}

L'objet capital de Monsieur Danjac sera de faire faire la guerre aux Anglais qui sont à la proximité de

la partie que nous lui confions, il doit sçavoir actuellement quelle est leur situation et leur force, c'est sur quoi il reglera ses mouvemens mais de quelle façon qu'il en soit, il aura toujours des partis de troupes Accadiens et sauvages les plus ou moins considérables suivant que les circonstances pourront le permettre ou l'exiger, il profitera de toutes celles qui lui seront favorables pour faire quelques tentatives sérieuses sans cependant trop compromettre les armes du Roy, Monsieur Bourdon et Monsieur Niverville pourront luy être fort utiles pour les connaissances qu'ils ont du local.

Ces mouvemens doivent être continuel et faits de façon à donner s'il est possible des inquietudes à l'ennemi capables d'expéer une diversion des forces qui menacent le coeur de la colonie. Monsieur Danjac ne détachera que des soldats dont il soit sûr, il serait dangereux qu'il luy en dézertait.

Article 16^{ième}

Monsieur Danjac pourra augmenter la ration des Accadiens et sauvages qui feront la guerre. Il pourra aussi faire donner aux malades quelques rafraichissemens à même ceux qui auront été déchargés de nos navires.

Article 17^{ième}

Il evitera autant qu'il le pourra de faire délivrer des fusils à ces Accadiens et sauvages il les engagera à se servir de leurs et de les prêter même à mesure qu'ils se releveront pour aller en guerre, il ne leur en fera fournir qu'autant qu'il ne pourra s'en dispenser et il en tiendra un état exact.

Il ne fera délivrer aucunes hardes aux Accadiens ils peuvent s'en passer pendant l'été et si le cas l'exige pour l'hiver, nous lui donnerons nos ordres sur le compte qu'il nous rendra de ceux qui seront les plus nécessaires.

Article 18^{ième}

Comme nous avons tout lieu de nous flater de la nouvelle de la paix avant la fin de la campagne Monsieur Danjac aura des postes dans toutes les extremités de nos possessions et donnera ordre aux officiers qui y commanderont de pénétrer le plus avant qu'il sera possible s'ils apprenaient la conclusion de la paix et de s'y maintenir celà est de la plus grande conséquence pour constater nos possessions.

Article 19^{ième}

Comme les Anglais peuvent de leur côté viser à étendre aussi leurs possessions, Monsieur Danjac prendra toutes les mesures qui pourront dépendre de luy pour les empêcher d'anticiper sur nos terres.

Article 20^{ième}

Monsieur Danjac engagera les Accadiens qui ont des bâtimens à arriver et aller en course, nous avons pour cet effect adressé à Monsieur Bourdon l'hyver dernier six commissions de l'amirauté en blanc il aura soin de les distribuer à ceux des Accadiens qui sont le plus en état

de faire ces armemens, nous pensons que ces sont les nommés Gautier et Beausoleil, nous les recommandons en considération de leur zèle et de leurs services.

Article 21^{ième}

Nous enverrons à Monsieur Danjac une liste des bateaux qui ont hyverné à Ristigouche, il ne prendre pas un instant à faire mettre en état le bateau L'Oiseau Royal, ou tout autre plus propre à aller en mer, il se fera laisser par le Sieur la Girauday, capitaine du Machault, un bon officier pour commander ce bateau, les pilotes et matelots nécessaires pour l'armer en les prenant avec égalité sur chacun des trois navires. Nous destinons ce bateau à aller porter les dépeches que nous adresserons incessamment à Monsieur Danjac pour la cour, il fera fournir des vivres à ce bateau ce même ceux que nous avons reçus de France.

Article 22^{ième}

Lorsque le Machault et les deux autres navires auront été déchargés, ils seront maîtres d'aller ou bon leur semblera n'ayant aucun ordre du Roy à leur égard. Monsieur Danjac prévendra seulement le Sieur la Girauday que nous avons eu avis que les Anglais devaient envoyer un gros vaisseau à rencontre afin qu'il se méfie.

Article 23^{ième}

Le Sieur La Girauday et les capitaines des deux autres navires seront aussi maîtres de leurs prises et de les mener au distiner pour où bon leur semblera.

Article 24^{ième}

Monsieur Danjac nous écrira le plus souvent qu'il lui sera possible.

Il choisira ses courriers et leur recommandera de diriger leur route de façon à éviter la rencontre de l'ennemi.

Il nous enverra les inventaires et recensements mentionnés à la présente instruction.

Il aura une particulière attention à nous rendre compte des nouvelles qu'il aura de l'ennemi pour les prisonniers ou autrement et de nous faire passer les papiers et gazettes qui pourront se trouver sur les bâtimens que les corsaires Accadiens prendront.

Et dans tous les autres cas que nous ne pouvons prévoir nous nous en rapportons à la prudence, expérience et au zèle de Monsieur Danjac.

*Fait à Montréal
le 17 juin 1760
Vaudreuil.⁷*

Several things are evident from this lengthy and detailed document. Vaudreuil expressed little concern that the fleet would be attacked: he believed Berryer's prediction that peace would be concluded shortly. Vaudreuil also had no intention of sending the fleet on to Louisiana or St. Domingue. His aim was to provide the basis of a French claim to Acadia by maintaining posts there and to guarantee a link between himself and the minister of the colonies by the ships in the Restigouche. He decided to unload the ships "et d'y établir un Magazin pour le Roi."⁸ There

was no conflict between Vaudreuil's instructions and D'Angeac's actions at Restigouche as he waited for word from Vaudreuil. However, while a clerk, the Sieur Bazagier, was travelling from Ile aux Noix to organize the stores and while St. Simon, who left Montreal on 9 July, was carrying dispatches and orders to Restigouche,⁹ the British were beginning to move against the French fleet.

In spite of the French precautions of sending a courier by foot and of anchoring in an almost unnavigable river with which the British were not familiar, it was not long before a British fleet was sighted in Chaleur Bay. The British had been expecting the arrival of a French fleet and their reaction was swift. Two fleets were launched almost simultaneously; one down the St. Lawrence from Quebec City and one from the Fortress of Louisbourg.

Vice-Admiral Lord Colville, commander of the English forces in North America, had been responsible for the swift reaction at Quebec City. Alarmed by "several imperfect accounts of French Fleets being in the lower River and Gulph," Colville had responded by sending Captain Wallis with a squadron, comprised of the *Prince of Orange*, the *Rochester*, the *Eurus* and three armed vessels, to search the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence River and the gulf for French ships.¹⁰ Although he was informed of the departure of the vessels, Vaudreuil gave little credit to the intelligence, saying "I hardly think the English will send their largest vessels to attack ours which have

arrived at Restigouche; nevertheless I will warn the latter so that they may be cautious."¹¹

At the same time Captain Byron was leading the Louisbourg fleet to the Restigouche. Through information from the Richibucto Indians, word had been relayed to Governor Whitmore at the Fortress of Louisbourg that:

in the Mouth of the River Miramichi, 6 Armed Vessells, mounting from 10 to 12 Guns Each, and 500 men in Arms, partly Canadiens, with 5 French Officers, One lately Arrived from Old France, & four from Canada; That a few days before he was at Rastagush, at which place was lately Arrived from France Five Men of War, two of Fifty Guns, the others something smaller, with several Officers and Soldiers on board, and that there likewise were several other Armed Vessells in that Harbour, but that he could not Understand anything of their Destination.¹²

When Whitmore received this communication on 17 June 1760, he had cancelled Captain Byron's orders to convoy troops and instructed him to destroy the French force in Chaleur Bay. Byron was quick to comply.

I immediately waited upon the Governor and applied to him for Pilots for all the ships and gave Orders to their Respective Captains to get everything ready for sailing the next

morning. Our sails being all on shore we got them off with the Governor's assistance before the morning, bent them, and got to sea before noon, which was as soon as the wind would permit us, having been given the *Rendez vous* off Point Goacha [Miguasha] in the Bay of Chaleurs.¹³

His fleet consisted of the three ships of the line: the *Fame*, 74 guns, Byron's flagship; the *Achilles*, 60 guns, Captain the Honourable Samuel Barrington; and the *Dorsetshire*, 70 guns, Captain Campbell; and two frigates: the *Scarborough*, 20 guns mounted, Captain Scot; and the *Repulse*, 32 guns, Captain John Carter Allen.

With two fleets of British ships searching for the French storeships, their discovery was inevitable.

The Battle

The Louisbourg squadron, under Byron, made contact with the French on 22 June when the *Fame* was anchored alone off Miguasha Point (most of the squadron having been dispersed by fog). Four of its boats captured an armed reconnaissance schooner which the French had previously taken as a prize.¹

Failing instructions from Montreal, Giraudais was forced – albeit reluctantly – to initiate on his own the defense of a position in which he unequivocally held strategic and tactical advantages. His forces comprised the *Machault*, 28 guns (but only 14 mounted on 8 July, the day of the final engagement); the *Bienfaisant*, 16 guns mounted; the *Marquis de Malauze*, 12 guns mounted; six English ships captured in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and 25 to 30 Acadian sloops and schooners from the Miramichi and elsewhere whose crews had joined the French when they learned of the fleet's arrival in the Restigouche. In terms of manpower, the French had 200 regular Troupes de la Marine (infantry under the authority of the Navy Department) under D'Angeac; 300 Acadians capable of bearing arms, "tous adroits mais paresseux et indépendants s'ils ne sont gouvernés,"² and 250 Micmacs. Nevertheless, the capture of the reconnaissance schooner marked the inauspicious beginning of a particularly inept military effort by the French.

3 "A Draft of the upper part of Chaleur Bay, called Restigouchi, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, by Captain John Carter Allen of His Majesty's Ship *Repulse*. Transmitted in his letter of 22^d July 1760."

A The *Fame*. . . .

B the first Channel. . . .

23 June

Byron weighed anchor on the morning of 23 June and set out for the head of the bay in search of the enemy, but the vagaries of the unfamiliar shallow channel soon compelled him to abandon the cumbersome *Fame*. Resuming his navigation in the *Fame*'s boats, he soon "saw sevl ships & vessls at anchor above them about 2 leag near a point of land (on the Northern shore) . . . a frigate . . . 2 others seemed to be Merchant or Storeships the others sloops and schooners in all 10 or 12 sail. . . ."³

24 June

At dawn the next day Byron dispatched two boats to make further soundings, but within two hours they were compelled to return to the flagship with several French boats in pursuit.

On 24 June Giraudais set his men to the rapid completion of the battery, being built en barbette, that he had begun on the north shore at Pointe à la Batterie. He transferred four 12-pounders and one 6-pounder from the *Machault*, his flagship, to the battery and appointed his second-in-command, Donat de la Garde,⁴ to command the position. As a mobile supplement to the shore battery, Giraudais retained the *Machault* in readiness in the channel, close behind a chain of small sloops and schooners which he scuttled one-half cannon-shot below the battery.

The 60 men and seven women taken prisoner on their way to Quebec City in May, although "well used before the English ships appeared," were now packed into the

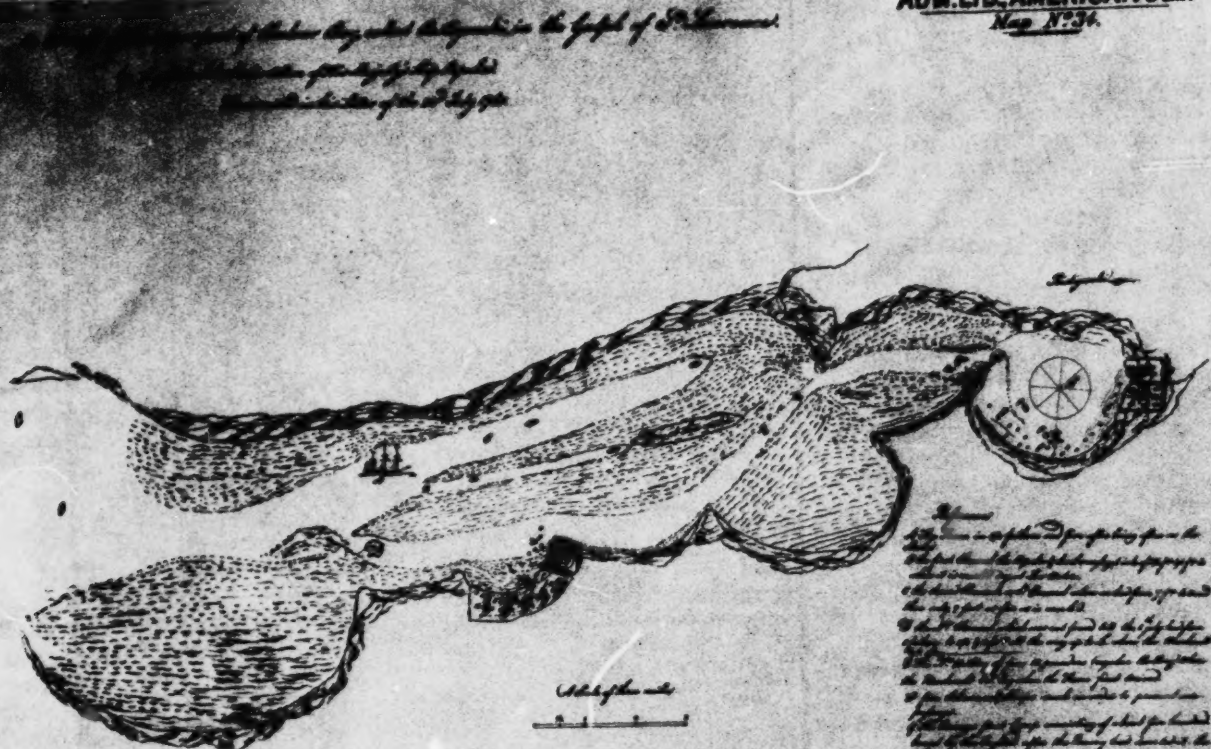
C the Second Channel, or So. Channel. . . .
 D the No. Channel. . . .
 E The No. Battery. . . .
 F five Schooners & Sloops sunk . . . to prevent
 our passage.
 G The Enemys first Camp. . . .
 HH Sloops sunk in the narrows.

I The masque battery. . . .
 K The upper No. Battery en Barquette. . . .
 L The Mechault. . . .
 M. N. & O. The Repulse, Scarborough, &
 Schooner. . . .
 P.P.P.P. The Bientaisant, Marque Malorge, and all
 the Small Craft which were destroy'd.

Q The Camp consisting of 1000 Regulars, Cana-
 dians and Savages.
 R a Church and a Priests House on So. point.
 S the bay an Intire Flat boats ground.
 A Scale of three miles." (Public Archives of
 Canada.)

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Map N° 34.



1. The map is a plan of the bay of St. Lawrence.
 2. The bay is bounded by the mountains of the St. Lawrence.
 3. The bay is divided into several smaller bays and inlets.
 4. The bay is surrounded by a high and rugged shore.
 5. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
 6. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
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 8. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
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 11. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
 12. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
 13. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
 14. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.
 15. The bay is a fine harbor for ships of all sizes.

hold of a small schooner for security reasons. According to the moving testimony of the prisoners, they were henceforth
*without air, without light, strongly guarded by a party of soldiers, under the cannon of the battery; our cloaths and beds taken from us; we had not room to stretch ourselves . . . [with] very little provisions and only brackish water to drink. . . .*⁵

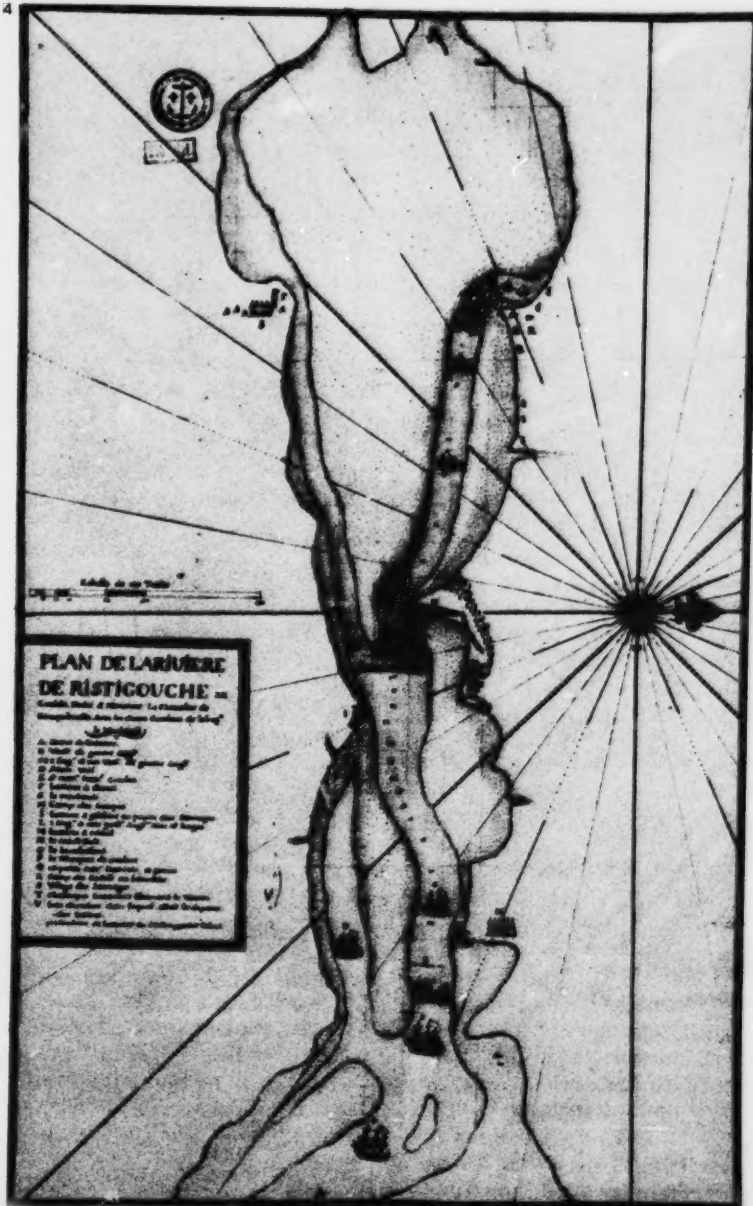
25 June

On 25 June the *Fame* weighed anchor and attempted to move closer to the head of the bay; however, at low water, at noon, it went aground "on a patch of mud,"⁶ "where I thought we never should have got off again."⁷ It did get off, but only after nine or ten hours of arduous effort and jettisoning "one of her anchors for the present,"⁸ and with the help of the schooner recaptured earlier off Miguasha Point.

It is difficult to comprehend Giraudais's failure to capitalize on the definite tactical advantage of having his adversary aground on the shoals. Decisive action by the French on 25 June might have

4 "Plan de larivière de Ristigouche au Canada. Dedié a Monsieur le Chevalier de Bouquville. avec les divers Combats de la freg[ate] le Machault
 A entrée de larivière
 B Vaiss[aux] de guerre angl[ais]
 CC 2 freg[ates] et un Vais[seau] de guerre angl[ais]
 D Idem Vais[seau]

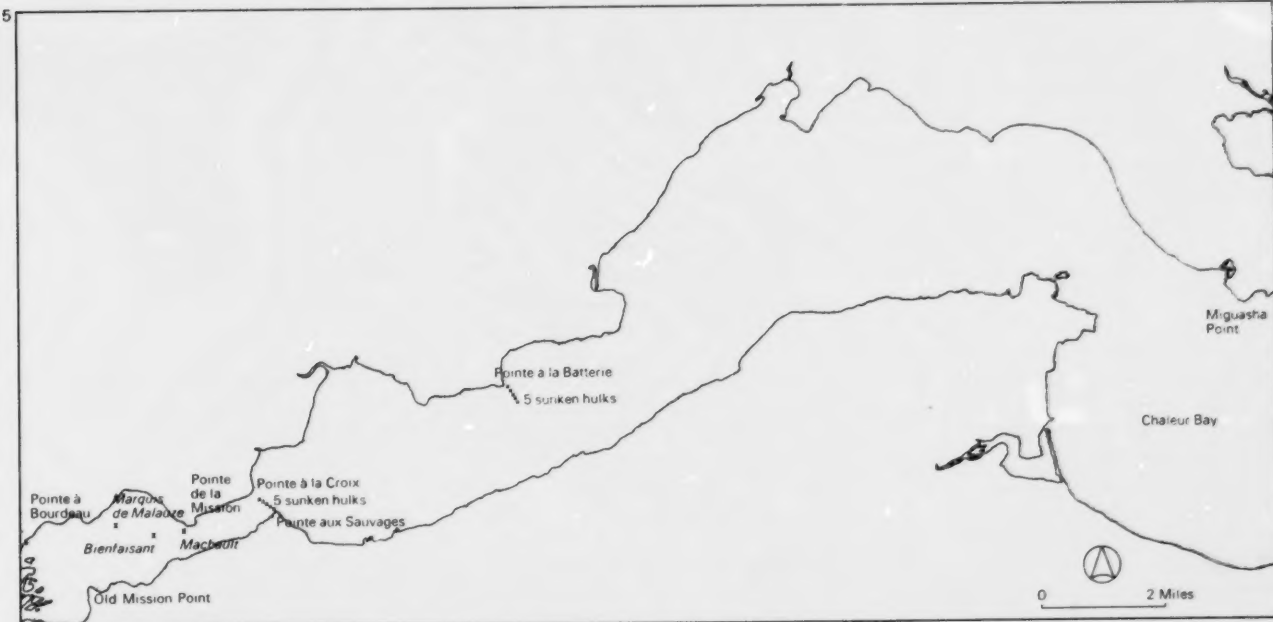
E 5 nav[ires] fran[çais] coules.
 G batterie à donat
 G le machault
 H Camp des troupes
 I batterie a gilibert ou pointe aux Sauvages
 L 2 freg[ates] et une [goëlette] angl[ais] avec 16 berges.
 M batterie a reboul



N le machault
O le bienfaisant
P Le Marquis de malose
Q 10 petits nav[ires] françois et prises
R Camp des Cadies ou bourdon
S Village des Sauvages
T Chaloupes francoises Chariant le Vivres

V bras de rivière dans lequel estoit le depaux des Vivres.
profondeur de bassemer en Chiffres. par le Sr Reboul.
Echelle de 180 Toises."
(Bibliothèque Nationale/Ministère de la Défense [Marine]. From a copy in the Public Archives of Canada.)

5 Restigouche River, showing the location of land and water sites. (Map by S. Enps.)



altered the outcome of the encounter. However, the French commander was not altogether unmindful of his advantage. As Byron learned later, Giraudais has actually contemplated sending a boarding party to the *Fame*,⁹ but had changed his mind when he perceived the man-of-war to be a fully armed two-decker.

The *Fame*'s admittedly formidable firepower notwithstanding, the French held enough of the classic advantages of a war situation to virtually guarantee their success: they enjoyed adequate manpower, the advantages of a secure defensive position, mobility both on land and on water, surprise, and for at least two hours before the *Fame* was released from the shoals, darkness. Their only serious disadvantage, albeit an essential one, was the low morale of both officers and men. Disheartened by the events both in Europe and North America in the previous two years which undermined France's position, neither

Giraudais nor D'Angeac, any more than their subalterns, possessed the energy or bold offensive spirit which, combined with their physical advantages, might have led to a decisive French victory on the Restigouche in 1760.

26 June

On 26 June the rest of the English squadron came into view off Miguasha Point. While the captains of

the ships of the line, the *Achilles* and the *Dosetshire*, realized they were facing an unknown channel and prudently anchored east of the point, the captains of the frigates, the *Scarborough* and the *Repulse*, at first took the *Fame* to be French and endeavoured to get up to it. The enthusiasm of both Captain Scot and Captain Allen was exceeded only by their brash disregard of the navigational realities under which they were to labour. Both frigates ran aground and although the *Scarborough* was soon released thanks to assistance from the *Fame*, the *Repulse* was forced to spend the night on the shoals.¹⁰

27 June

His squadron at full complement now, on 27 June Byron ordered the *Fame's* boats and the captured schooner to search for the elusive channel. The *Scarborough*, the *Repulse* and the *Fame* cautiously took up the rear.¹¹ The most serious disadvantage of the English, given the low morale of the French, was the hazardous navigation. The channel ran very close to the north shore and was therefore exposed to the French guns and musketry. It was also, as Byron put it, so narrow there was "no room for a ship to swing."¹²

28 June

When, on 28 June, the captured schooner went aground in less than a fathom,¹³ it was clear that the English had unwittingly penetrated into a cul-de-sac. At the same time,

the *Repulse* and the *Scarborough* lay aground within range of the French guns at Pointe à la Batterie. Giraudais gave the order to open fire, but the French action was limited to a rather passive and half-hearted effort and their fire caused little real damage to the English. Nevertheless, coupled with musketry from a detachment of regulars, Acadians and Micmacs hidden in the surrounding woods, it harassed the English in their efforts to get the ships afloat. However, the powerful artillery of the *Fame* was brought to bear on the French position as a cover for the grounded frigates and by evening the French musketry was effectively dispersed.

Giraudais reverted to the defensive once again, ordering the *Marquis de Malauze* and the *Bienfaisant* as far upstream in the Restigouche as possible in order to protect their cargoes.¹⁴ He brought the *Machault* to the mouth of the river only slightly beyond the range of the English guns, later explaining: "J'avois mérité de rester avec ma fregatte Pour Soutenir la Batterie mais la force de l'Ennemi Estant trop Supérieure Maurois Empeché de regoindre tous les Batiments que J'avois fait monter."¹⁵

As a further precaution, Giraudais ordered the English prisoners transferred from their prison aboard a schooner to the more secure hold of the *Machault* where they apparently underwent more severe treatment than previously.

The sailors were put into irons, and the captains and merchants had an old sail to lie on, spread on a row of hogsheds. Our allowance was bread and wine, with two

*ounces of pork per day; but, thank God, our appetites were not very keen; and if we complained that we were stifled with stench and heat, and eat up with vermin, they silenced us with saying, "Well, you shall go on shore under a guard of Indians," after telling us the savages had sworn they would scalp us every soul; they told us also, that, if we made the least noise, they would point four cannon into the hold and sink the vessel, or burn us like a parcel of rats.*¹⁶

The search for a navigable channel remained Byron's essential first objective. He might well have dispensed with this exercise given the inability of the French to undertake a spirited defensive effort. Indeed, had he been willing to depart from the classical norm, Byron could well have landed a party, routed the French on shore, and then proceeded to harass the enemy squadron unimpeded.

The fact that even Byron's captured schooner, of low draft, had run aground while the *Machault* had retreated up river with relative ease was sufficient indication that considerable further effort was required before a passage could be found. Thus the soundings continued and during the night of 28–29 June a new and apparently promising channel was discovered close to the south shore of the Restigouche.

29 June

Byron immediately ordered the *Repulse* and the *Scarborough* to swing back and attempt the new passage, but further sounding soon belied his premature optimism. The passage, the "So[uth] channel" of the Allen map (or, more accurately, "le faux chenal du Sud" as Giraudais called it¹⁷), was not a channel at all, but another cul-de-sac which from an impressive seven fathoms had quickly fallen to nine feet before running into mud flats at low water.

With the transfer of English efforts to the south channel on 29 June, the *Repulse* and the *Scarborough* fell beyond the range of the French guns at Pointe à la Batterie;¹⁸ however, the battery remained within range of the powerful guns of the *Fame* which enjoyed the further and more significant advantage of firing at the unprotected French flank.¹⁹ Although the French at first returned the *Fame's* fire, they were overwhelmed within a few days.

2 July

By noon on 2 July, the *Fame* had smashed the easternmost French gun and a short time later the French began "making off from thence."²⁰ Their retreat was premeditated and orderly for the remaining four guns were spiked, "split and burst to pieces."²¹

When the English landing party put ashore at Pointe à la Batterie, not a Frenchman remained in sight. The gun carriages and other woodwork at both the battery and the

adjoining camp were burned and the English, carrying their fury still further, also burned between 150 and 200 buildings which the Acadian refugee community had recently built.²² This spirited action was the first decisive factor to affect English fortunes. Nevertheless, Byron declined his newly acquired land bridgehead, opting rather to maintain his original aim of finding a navigable channel and effecting the essential task of destroying the French squadron.

Following their withdrawal from Pointe à la Batterie on 2 July, the French reassembled at Pointe à Bourdeau where Giraudais ordered the establishment of a new camp and the unloading of his storeships. In an effort to stop the English advance, he ordered two new batteries erected at the mouth of the river, one on Pointe aux Sauvages (now within Campbellton) and the other across the narrows at Pointe de la Mission.

3 July

The day after the reduction of Pointe à la Batterie, Captain Allen of the *Repulse* dejectedly withdrew from the south channel. As he and Byron were discussing alternatives aboard the *Fame* on the evening of 3 July, "giving up all hopes of finding a channel,"²³ word came that a new passage had been found close to the north shore where soundings had resumed the night prior to the French withdrawal from Pointe à la Batterie.

Heartened by this breakthrough, Byron ordered the *Repulse*, the *Scarborough* and the schooner (now armed with four 6-pounders and manned by 50 men) to prepare to

move into the new channel. During the night of 3–4 July the English squadron began moving toward the river mouth, but it was two days before a passage could be cleared through the chain of hulks the French had sunk below Pointe à la Batterie.²⁴

5 July

As soon as the English had cleared the chain of hulks below Pointe à la Batterie, on 5 July, Byron ordered the armed schooner against workmen he saw at the site of the new battery at Pointe aux Sauvages "to annoy them all he could with his great guns."²⁵ However, Lieutenant Cummings, the commander of the schooner, anchored too close to the shore, well within range of the deadly musketry which suddenly began to rain from the barely completed breastwork and the surrounding woods and was forced to draw back to safety. Cummings himself was seriously wounded, barely escaping with his life.²⁶

6 to 7 July

Maintaining his original aim of protecting his cargos, during the night of 6–7 July Giraudais sank a second chain of five hulks across the channel at the narrows between Pointe aux Sauvages and Pointe à la Croix.²⁷ The English remained undaunted and showed every sign of continuing hard after the French. Giraudais

then decided to transfer his prisoners from the *Machault* to the hold of the *Marquis de Malauze*, less vulnerable to immediate fire from the attackers. D'Angeac noted the transfer in his report: "Nous nous étions débarqué des prisonniers que nous avions à bord du *Machault* en les envoyant à bord du *Marquis de Maloze* avec un détachement de vingt-cinq hommes et un Sergent et un Sergent de Confiance [*sic*] pour leur garde."²⁸

When the English schooner again attempted to reduce the Pointe aux Sauvages battery on 7 July not only did it have concealed sniper musketry to contend with as before, but also the fire of three 4-pounders which now stood at the ready. In the face of superior firepower, a better position and a spirited French defense, the English again suffered the indignity of a hasty retreat to the safety of the frigates.²⁹

Across the narrows at Pointe de la Mission another party of labourers had been busy erecting a second battery, en barbette, with an ordnance of three 12-pounders and two 6-pounders and a supporting detachment of 30 sharpshooters. This battery was ready to fire in the afternoon of 7 July.³⁰

In the course of the night of 7–8 July, the *Repulse* and the *Scarborough*, preceded by the schooner, continued their advance and their survey of the channel. Although it is not clear how the English managed to skirt the second chain of hulks, they did so during the night of 7–8 July. Despite intermittent fire

all night from both batteries and the musketry, at daybreak the schooner, the *Repulse* and the *Scarborough* all stood in the Restigouche, upstream from the French chain of hulks and face to face with the *Machault*.

8 July

As dawn broke on 8 July, Giraudais saw with dismay from the bridge of the *Machault* that the two English frigates and the armed schooner stood at anchor only one-half cannon-shot downstream. The engagement which the French had ardently hoped to avoid was inevitable and imminent. To the 32 guns of the *Repulse*, the 20 of the *Scarborough* and the four of the schooner were opposed the ten starboard 12-pounders of the *Machault*,³¹ the three 4-pounders at Pointe aux Sauvages and the five guns at Pointe de la Mission. Every man who could be spared from manning the French artillery, guarding the prisoners in the *Marquis de Malauze*, and other tasks essential to the immediate defense of the French position was dispatched to disembark cargo from the two storeships and to tow a score or more smaller vessels within range of the French sharpshooters lining the north shore of the river.³²

Shortly after five o'clock in the morning, the *Repulse*, now within range of the French battery on Pointe aux Sauvages, quickly drove the defenders from their position.

As the frigates moved slowly upstream they were met by brisk fire from the battery on Pointe de la Mission and, close by, from the *Machault*.³³ The French fire was so brisk that the *Repulse*, in the lead, was driven "aground in a very bad position with her head on to the shoals."³⁴ The French fire inflicted such heavy punishment upon the *Repulse* that Giraudais claimed that technically his guns had sunk it.³⁵ Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the *Repulse*, had it been standing in deep water rather than aground on the shoals, could have avoided sinking.

Far from being able to capitalize on the enemy's discomfort, the *Machault*, in an incredible example of military unpreparedness, was almost out of powder and cartridges.³⁶ As a safety precaution Giraudais had earlier transferred part of his war stores to a smaller vessel and to this vessel he hastily dispatched one of his boats. However, the terror of the moment affected its crew for they were never heard from again although the boat, fully laden as ordered, was later found abandoned.

As its powder supply dwindled the *Machault's* fire became more sporadic until it ceased at nine o'clock. The powder situation being compounded by the presence of seven feet of water in the hold, Giraudais determined to abandon ship³⁷ and at 11 o'clock the *Machault* struck its colours.

In the meantime the *Repulse* had managed to get off the shoals, and, with the *Scarborough*, resumed firing on the French battery at Pointe de la Mission. The latter's fire had virtually stopped when the *Machault*

had struck its colours, but resumed at intervals, "not more than one or two guns in a quarter of an hour."³⁸ The English frigates were unable to move higher because of the shallow water.

Under ordinary circumstances, the tactic of storming the moribund *Machault* would have suited the occasion; however, Captain Allen of the *Repulse* surmised that the French intended to blow it up rather than turn its cargo over to the enemy. Given his irreversible advantage at this juncture, Allen accordingly held back his boats in order not to run unnecessary risk.³⁹

Shortly before noon, Giraudais and D'Angeac, their determination to remain to the last aboard their flagship honoured now, descended into a boat and made for the French camp at Pointe à Bourdeau. Their orderly retreat did not even lack an appropriate flourish of enemy fire, "ayant pendant une partie du chemin les boulets à nos trousses."⁴⁰

At or around noon the *Machault* blew up with a "very great explosion."⁴¹ Presumably the charge had gone off prematurely for several Frenchmen were wounded. Fifteen minutes later the *Bienfaisant* similarly blew up, its entire cargo still in its hold.⁴² The *Marquis de Malauze* would undoubtedly have suffered a similar fate had the prisoners not been within its hold. The prisoners, now numbering 62,⁴³ had heard the "two terrible reports." Shortly after, they were brought up on deck and ordered into an inadequate makeshift raft "which would have sunk with one half of our number."

Half-crazed by the prospect of delivering themselves into the hands of the Micmacs on shore, the prisoners refused to move and finally prevailed upon their captors to admit that to force them to leave would amount to sacrificing them to the Indians. The French therefore left them to their fate, but not before marching them back into the hold where they were fettered and handcuffed anew and the hatches again secured above them.⁴⁴

The prisoners were "almost mad with fear, expecting every moment to be blown up," helpless in their dark and stifling prison. When a bulkhead was finally knocked down and the hatches forced open, what greeted them on deck was hardly more reassuring: dense smoke from the burning *Machault* and *Bienfaisant* stood between them and recognition by their compatriots beyond and "all the shore was lined with Indians, firing small arms upon us." Although fortunately out of musket range for the time being, they were in terror of night. "We were in the utmost perplexity to get away, because we knew, had we remained aboard that night, we should have been boarded by the Indians, and every man scalped."⁴⁵

Ironically, the prisoners were responsible for the single most valiant feat of the entire Restigouche incident. A young fellow among them "who could swim very well" offered to set off for the *Repulse*, a full

league downstream. Passing under the guns of the Pointe de la Mission battery, he arrived safely at the English frigate. Captain Allen immediately dispatched Lord Rutherford with nine boats escorted by the schooner to the *Marquis de Malauze* to the relief of the prisoners. Notwithstanding brisk fire from the one remaining French position, the English prisoners were all released and brought to the *Repulse* by mid-afternoon on 8 July.⁴⁶

The English, determined to destroy every French vessel within their reach, set the *Marquis de Malauze* ablaze as soon as it was cleared of the prisoners. Like the *Bienfaisant*, its cargo of "wine and brandy, bales of goods and warlike stores" was jettisoned entirely. The efficiency of this aspect of the English operation was marred only by the death of six Englishmen, including a midshipman who, in spite of repeated calls to, had tarried too long with the liquor and went down with the flaming hulk.⁴⁷

Rutherford's men continued their destruction of all available French shipping and by nightfall French losses totalled 22 or 23 vessels which, with the exception of the *Machault*, the *Bienfaisant* and the *Marquis de Malauze*, were mainly Acadian sloops, schooners and small privateers. (These figures do not include the ten vessels the French scuttled in the channel.) Like the *Machault* and the *Bienfaisant*, many had been fired by the French in order to avoid their falling into the hands

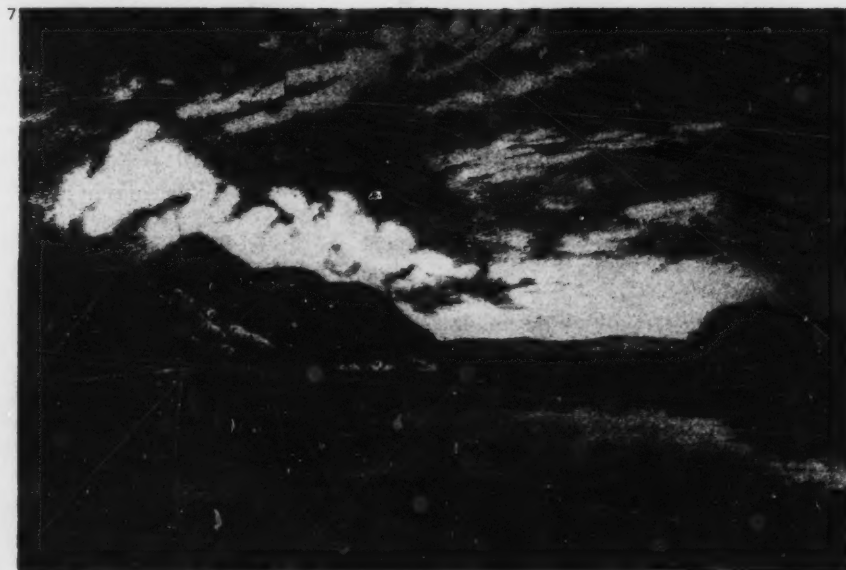
6 "On the River Restigouche, looking down towards the Peak of Campbellton." (*Canadian Illustrated News*, 19 August 1882, p. 120.)

7 "Looking up the Restigouche from La Petite Rochelle [near Pointe à Bourdeau]." (*Canadian Illustrated News*, 19 August 1882, p. 120.)

of the enemy. One English source claims that of all the vessels in French hands on the morning of 8 July, only one schooner and two shallops remained by nightfall.⁴⁸

Having thus burned and destroyed or caused to be destroyed everything within their reach in complete fulfillment of the aim of the expedition's singleminded commander, the *Repulse*, the *Scarborough* and the armed schooner swung around at 11 o'clock on the evening of 8 July and withdrew downstream. The French fleet destroyed, Byron did not even silence the empty tauntings of the one remaining enemy position, the Pointe de la Mission battery. After pausing off Pointe à la Batterie while rum was issued, Byron's squadron sailed. On 14 July, near Paspébiac, they met Wallis's squadron from Quebec which had been searching the lower St. Lawrence and the gulf for the French ships, then continued on their way, four to the Fortress of Louisbourg and the *Repulse* to Halifax, "her rigging, masts and hull much shattered and no stores left at Louisbourg."⁴⁹

After the unexpected and overwhelming attack of the British, the French were left to salvage what they could of the situation. Most of their ships' cargoes had been lost, many men had been killed,⁵⁰ and only a few boats were left to cross a large ocean. When St. Simon returned with Vaudreuil's instructions, the French had little means with which to implement them.



Sequels to the Battle

Undeterred by the bleak circumstances in which they now found themselves, the French fitted out some ships and plundered the trade in the area, captured several more prizes and even managed to send safely to France at least two ships, one under Giraudais which arrived in Santander on 27 October and the *Petit Marquis de Malauze* which reached St-Jean-de-Luz on 19 December 1760. The whole company of troops might have escaped had biscuit for the voyage been prepared in advance. The delay occasioned while provisions were prepared led to their entrapment by a second British expedition.¹

The Capitulation Expedition

As early as the beginning of August British officials expressed the fear that the large number of French troops at Chaleur Bay would threaten British trade and communications. However, once Montreal capitulated in September the British were presented with an alternative to another attack. General Amherst wrote that Vaudreuil "had information [that the troops at Restigouche] were returned to France, but on my communicating to him the report [to the contrary], I now received, he sent an officer to the Bay des Chaleurs,

with orders for the troops to lay down their arms according to the capitulation."² The officer representing French authority was Monsieur de Catalogne. Although Amherst felt that "M. de Vaudreuil aura mieux fait d'avoir envoyer un officier de plus haut Rang,"³ the British assented. Vaudreuil's orders were issued on 15 September and the ships sailed from Quebec on 23 September 1760.⁴ The men sent included Catalogne and "a field officer two Captains, four Subalterns, and one hundred and fifty men [under Major Elliott] from Quebec."⁵ The *Repulse* and *Racehorse* were accompanied by the *Good Intent* transport and some schooners: a sufficient force to meet a depleted and discouraged group of soldiers now in alien territory.

In his report to the Admiralty, Captain Macartney of the *Racehorse* gave a full account of the fleet's activities. After anchoring in the Restigouche on 23 October 1760, they met with the Indians and the troops. On 29 October the French decided to surrender quietly, embarked on the *Good Intent* and departed for France on 5 November. In an appended note, Macartney gave a succinct account of the state of the post and the changes which his visit brought:

Peace being concluded with the Mickmack Indians and the Scalping Knife and Tomahawk buried in token and security thereof, one hundred and ninety six Regulars under the Command of Mons' Don Jacques Captain, with Eighty Seamen Capt. Gramont Comm' yielded themselves

up prisoners according to the articles of Capitulation, and were put on board Good Intent Transport to be conveyed to France, agreeable to the notification in my orders.

The Number of Inhabitants at Restigouche amounts to one thousand and three, including men women and children.

The Number of Indians we could get no just account of but appears to consist of 3 or 400.

We spiked up and destroyed two batterys of Canon, one of 4-12 prs and 1-6 pr, and the other of 3 small pieces, which the Enemy had erected on two points upon the side of the Bason in order to hinder our ships from getting up. We found besides at Restigouche 1-18 pr, 1-9 pr, and 1-6 pr which was also spiked up.

We found and brought away in the Schooners 320 barrels of Powder, some shoes and cloathing.

We burnt one Schooner repairing, and one sloop, and sold a small schooner to the French.

We brought away The Polly Sloop (from Boston loaded with Rum) which had been taken by the French. The Resolution (from Piscaluway with Molasses and sugar) also taken. And a Small Sloop that was a Privateer belonging to Mons' Ablong at Ristigouche.

English Prisoners, 12 Men, 7 Women and 4 children which we also brought away.⁶

Major Elliott reported:
We were employed till the 5th Nov' in getting on board the Stores from

*their Magazines, in which was 327 barrels powder, Musket ball, small shot, Blankets, Coarse Brown Cloth, Flour, Pork, Wine, Rum, Brandy... the Powder was all brought away, the Shot I threw into the River, where it was impossible for them to get them out; the rest of the Goods I desired the Capts. of Militia to divide equally amongst the Inhabitants.*⁷

The men had carried out their orders with dispatch and efficiency.

The little British fleet had more trouble in leaving than in coming for a severe storm arose immediately after their passage through the Gut of Canso and the ships were scattered. The *Good Intent* reached France with little mishap, as reported by the French clerk Bazagier,⁸ but the *Swan*, on which Major Elliott was sailing, struck on Sable Island. The passengers and crew reached shore, but all the equipment and supplies were lost. The *Racehorse* had to steer for England. Two ships under Captain Carter and Lieutenant Shaw arrived in New York and Captain Allen took the *Repulse* to Halifax.

Visitors to Restigouche in 1761

The Restigouche area was not deserted after the capitulation expedition. Indians and Acadians still populated the area and petitioned the British for attention. Most of the

French soldiers had been deported in the fall of 1760, but a small picket of 12 men under Niverville had been sent to Miramichi before this occurred and had never surrendered.⁹ Nor was the area completely isolated; several administrative or commercial expeditions went there in 1761 before the British carried out the final sequel to the battle of the Restigouche.

The first to visit in the spring of 1761 was a man named Grandmaison, under orders to seize a deserter from the 35th Regiment named Guillaume Cart. He arrived on 20 March with six unarmed men. When wounded by Cart while trying to execute his orders, Grandmaison returned to Quebec City after sending couriers to Niverville to inform him of the capitulation.¹⁰

In mid-July Pierre du Calvet set out for Chaleur Bay in a large sloop, *Ste-Anne*, commanded by Captain Joanis with an eight-man crew. His mission was to take a census of the Acadians in the area for the Quebec government. This he carried out all along Restigouche River and Chaleur Bay for by this time many Acadians had left Old Mission Point and Pointe à Bourdeau and moved to sites along Chaleur Bay. Du Calvet returned to Quebec City in October 1761.¹¹

A third non-destructive expedition also sailed from Quebec City. Gamaliel Smethurst, in a trading vessel fitted out in Marblehead, Massachusetts, went to trade with the French and Indians in the summer of 1761. But just as Smethurst

was about to sail from Nepisiguit (Bathurst) in late October, his vessel loaded with about 120 tons of dry fish and oil, he encountered the expedition ordered to destroy the post on the Restigouche.¹² This ruined further trade and, to make matters worse, Smethurst was abandoned by his vessel and forced to make his way along the coast to Fort Cumberland.

Fearing that the continuation of the Restigouche post constituted a threat to British trade and communications, the British had decided to clear the area. Captain Roderick Mackenzie, of Fort Cumberland, led the expedition to remove the Acadian inhabitants. A newspaper account relates the incident:

We hear from Nova Scotia, That sometime last Month Capt. Mackenzie of Fort Cumberland, having armed two Vessels at Bay Vert, proceeded as far to the Northward as the Bay Chaleurs, in order to break up a nest of French Vermin on that Coast, who have done so much Mischief these two or three Years past, in intercepting our Vessels bound to Halifax, Louisbourgh, and the River St. Lawrence, which he happily effected; And having taken

*about 240 Men, Women and Children Prisoners, brought them to Bay Vert; together with 8 or 10 small Vessels loaded with their effects. All the other small Craft upon the Coast be destroyed, so that there need be no Apprehension of any Interruption in going up the River next year, as all the Ringleaders of the Mischief hitherto done with their families, are now Prisoners.*¹³

The 1765 census, showing only 145 men, women and children, indicates Mackenzie's thoroughness.¹⁴

Conclusions

The battle of the Restigouche can be viewed in two contexts: as one episode in the history of naval engagements and as one factor affecting the political history of Canada.

In terms of battle itself, its most striking aspect was the almost slavish adherence of Captain Byron to the rules of naval action. A more imaginative and bolder commander (perhaps John Carter Allen) might have achieved the destruction of the French fleet with equal efficiency and greater speed: landing a party of marines at the time the antagonists came into contact would have achieved Byron's aim in short order. Certainly the superiority of English firepower warranted a departure from the classic steps, especially if the British realized that the state of French morale prevented Giraudais from capitalizing on his tactical advantages.

Giraudais's primary aim was to save, at all costs, the fleet entrusted to him for the relief of New France. To this end his was initially the most advantageous situation: the French enjoyed superior manpower, a secure defensive position, mobility on both land and water, and surprise. The one essential disadvantage of the French was low morale. Events both in Europe and North America had undermined the morale of officers and men alike and neither Giraudais nor D'Angeac possessed the energy and bold offensive spirit that would have allowed the French to seize the advantage of their favourable strategical and tactical situation on the Restigouche River in June and July of 1760.

The battle is notable, too, as the last naval engagement between Great Britain and France for the possession of North America.

In terms of the political history of Canada, the battle played a significant part in determining the future of New France. Even though the assistance sent them was not what officials in Montreal had hoped for — the fleet carried fewer men and supplies than had been requested, it sailed from France much later than planned, and only three of the six ships reached New France — subsequent events might have been altered if they could have made use of what men and supplies did reach New France. Without the men and supplies, the attempt to regain Quebec City from the British had to be abandoned, Montreal was less able to resist British attack, and the basis of a strong French position in Acadia was lost before it could be established. At length Montreal capitulated and New France became British. The fall of New France may not have been a necessary result of the battle of the Restigouche, but the loss of the fleet did precipitate it.

Endnotes

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Chaleur Bay

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- 2 PAC, MG1, F3, Vol. 50, 14 Aug. 1758.
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- 13 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760; *Boston Newsletter*, 17 July 1760.

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- 5 *Annual Register for 1760* (London: J Dodsley, 1781), p. 136.
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- 7 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/482, Byron to Colville, 14 July 1760, p. 129.
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- 9 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760. Neither Giraudais nor D'Angeac mention this incident in their narratives.
- 10 *Fame* journal.
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- 15 John Knox, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 363.
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- 17 John Knox, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 363.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 The French battery was built en barbette, that is, with its guns firing over the parapet as opposed to firing through embrasures.
- 20 *Fame* journal. Giraudais's narrative implies 3 July, but from the other evidence, this is an error.
- 21 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760.
- 22 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/482, Byron to Colville, 14 July 1760, p. 129.
- 23 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760.
- 24 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1442, Allen to Admiralty, 2 Aug. 1760.
- 25 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 The only evidence for the date of the second boom is the requisitioning of an Acadian vessel on 6 July (PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 1, 6 July 1760, p. 23).
- 28 John Knox, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 370.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 369.
- 30 *Ibid.*; *Fame* journal.
- 31 Giraudais deployed three as well on the port side "au cas que leurs Berges Usent voulus venir pendant le Combat vous aborder de ce costé là" (John Knox, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 364).
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Fame* journal; PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1442, Allen to Admiralty, 2 Aug. 1760.
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- 47 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760.
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- 49 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/1491, Byron to Admiralty, 11 July 1760.
- 50 See PAC, MG8, G26, Vols. 1 and 2, Sainte-Anne de Ristigouche, 1759-1795, Vol. 1, pp. 30-1, Vol. 2, pp. 28-30.

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- 1 PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 105, Part 2, Observations sur certaines mouvemens en Nouvelle France, 1760, pp. 471-86.
- 2 PAC, MG11, CO5, Vol. 59, Amherst to Pitt, 17 Sept. 1760, p. 125.
- 3 PAC, MG21, G2, Vol. 1, Amherst to Haldimand, 15 Sept. 1760, pp. 130-1.
- 4 PAC, MG11, CO5, Vol. 59, Part 2, Vaudreuil, 15 Sept. 1760, p. 43; PAC, MG12, WO34, Vol. 1, Murray to Amherst, 24 Sept. 1760, pp. 6-7.
- 5 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/2112, Colville to Macartney, 18 Sept. 1760.
- 6 PAC, MG12, Adm. 1/2112, Macartney to Admiralty, 11 Dec. 1760.
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- 8 PAC, MG1, C11A, Vol. 105, Part 2, Bazagier to minister for Colonies, 4 Dec. 1760, p. 420.
- 9 PAC, MG12, WO34, Vol. 1, Murray to Amherst, 22 Feb. 1761, p. 35.
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Table Glass from the Wreck of the *Machault*

by Paul McNally

Canadian Historic Sites
Lieux historiques canadiens
No 16

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Abstract

Table glass from the 1760 French wreck of the *Machault* included a large number of French wine glasses, one French tumbler, and eight English wine glasses. The presence of English glass is presumably indicative of English leadership in the glass industry of the third quarter of the 18th century. Despite the critical situation of Montreal in 1760, the wealthier citizens of that town apparently still had a desire for relatively fine table wares and the power to have them sent from France. Also, the presence of table glass on a relief ship might indicate that France did not think it was in danger of losing New France permanently.

Submitted for publication 1972,
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Sommaire

Une importante collection de verres, offrant peu de variété cependant, fut récupérée par M. Walter Zacharchuk de la Direction des parcs et lieux historiques nationaux, lors des fouilles archéologiques sous-marines du *Machault*, qu'il dirigeait; ce vaisseau amiral de la flotte de secours française, qui s'acheminait vers Montréal au printemps 1760, fut coulé dans la rivière Restigouche à la tête de la baie des Chaleurs. Le présent rapport traite des verres de table français et anglais recueillis au cours des travaux de 1969, 1970 et 1971.

La collection française compte un fond de gobelet et des centaines de verres à vin. Le fond de gobelet est caractéristique des gobelets fabriqués dans le centre et l'ouest de la France au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, qui sont normalement présents dans les sites français du Canada qui datent de la même époque. Quant aux verres à vin, à tige dit bouton carrée, ils furent en vogue au cours du troisième quart du XVIII^e siècle. À en juger d'après leur quantité et l'absence de traces d'usage, ils faisaient partie de la cargaison. Leur présence dans la cargaison d'un navire de secours destiné à Montréal durant la Guerre de sept ans s'expliquerait par l'existence, dans cette ville, d'une classe de gens assez riche, qui demandait une verrerie de qualité. Elle pourrait aussi indiquer que la France ne prévoyait pas perdre sa colonie définitivement.

La collection de verres anglais compte huit verres à vin de deux styles. Il s'agit du verre à tige élan-cée uni qui fut en vogue de 1735 environ au début des années 1760 en Angleterre et du verre à tige ornée de torsades opaques, en vogue de 1750 à 1780. Deux hypothèses s'offrent pour expliquer leur présence à bord du *Machault*. Ils auraient pu provenir des navires britanniques que la flotte française avait capturés avant d'entrer dans la baie des Chaleurs ou avoir été achetés en France, où, les verres anglais connaissaient alors une certaine faveur, étant plus beaux et plus solides que les verres français. Au Canada, on en trouve fréquemment dans les sites historiques français du milieu du XVIII^e siècle et l'échantillon du *Machault*, bien que petit, illustre la supériorité de l'industrie anglaise du verre de cette période et aussi la vogue que connurent ces verres de style rococo.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to John Dunton of the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, Nova Scotia; Charles Lindsay, then of the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park and now with National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa, and Michel Lafrenière of Place Royale, Quebec, for information about their table glass collections, and to John P. Heisler, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa, for his comments on the historical significance of the table glass recovered from the *Machault*.

Introduction

The frigate *Machault* was the flagship of a small French relief fleet en route to Montreal in the spring of 1760 with munitions and supplies. The fleet took shelter in the mouth of the Restigouche River at the head of Chaleur Bay on learning that a British fleet had preceded it up the St. Lawrence. A group of British ships sought out the French with the result that in July the *Machault*, along with several other ships, was blown up — with most of its cargo on board — to prevent its capture (Beattie 1968).

Walter Zacharchuk of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch conducted the underwater excavation of the wreck. This report deals with the table glass recovered during the 1969, 1970 and 1971 seasons.

The Glass

Table glass of French origin was restricted to one tumbler base, badly crizzled and decomposed, and many hundreds of wine glasses of a single type. There were in addition eight wine glasses of English origin.

The tumbler base (Fig. 1) is from a small pattern-moulded ribbed non-lead tumbler typical of those manufactured in central and western France in the middle of the 18th century (Charleston 1952: 18). The crizzling is characteristic, and so is the tendency to turn brown or pink in the course of decomposition. Similar tumblers are normal finds at French sites in Canada with comparable occupation periods: the Fortress of Louisbourg, Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau, and Beaubassin for instance.

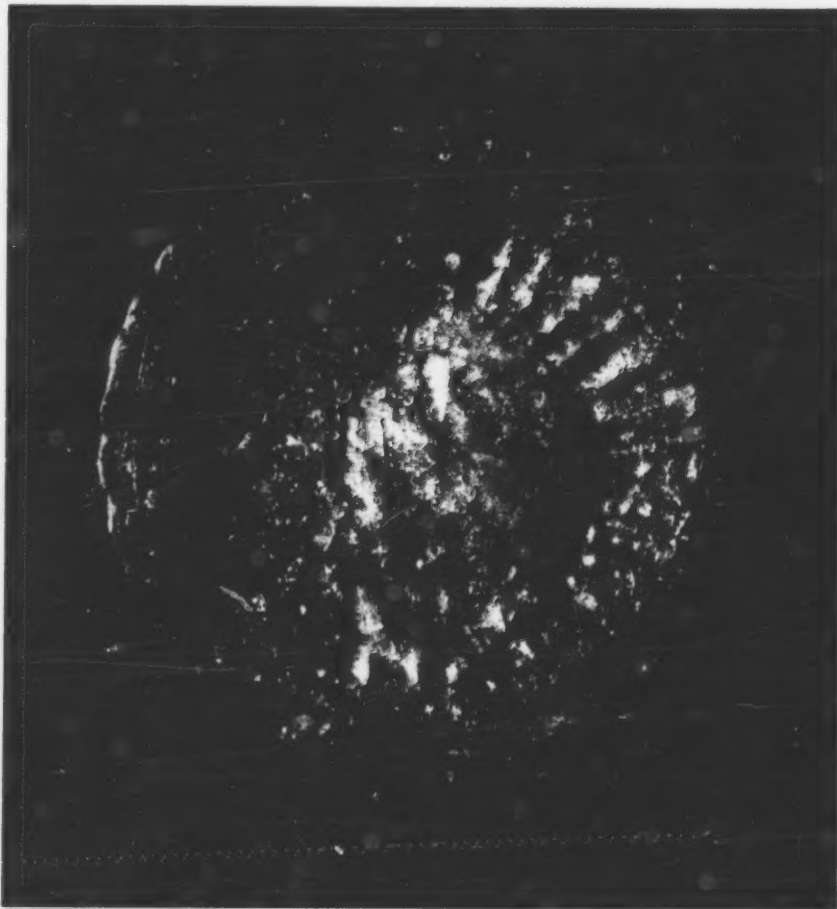
No vessel count of the French stemware was undertaken because ice and tidal action have reduced most of the examples to fragments and because continuing excavations at the site produce more and more specimens. The glasses so far probably number close to a thousand, with no significant variation between examples except that stem height differs slightly. Capacity appears to

1 Base view of a small pattern-moulded French tumbler in crizzled non-lead metal; mid-18th century. (Photo by G. Lupien.)

be uniform. Shown in Figure 2 is the only wine glass complete to a segment of the lip rim. The main feature is a hollow six-sided moulded pedestal stem. The French called the form *bouton carré* and evidently borrowed it from Bohemian glassmakers (Barrelet 1957: 114) though English collectors have long referred to such stems as "Silesian." The glasses are of three-piece construction: the moulded stem was welded to a round funnel bowl with a thick base, and a plain conical foot was formed on the stem. In every case the foot has a folded rim. In many cases the lower part of the stem is twisted slightly from reheating the stem and attaching the foot; the variation in stem height results from the same process. The glass has no lead content.

Hollow pedestal stems were a normal French form of stemware in 1760. They were common at the Fortress of Louisbourg, and some examples recovered there were certainly deposited in the 1750s (Dunton: pers. com.). Engraved examples illustrated by Barrelet (1957: Fig. 21) and Haynes (1964: Pl. 62g) bear the dates 1758 and 1746 respectively. Haynes remarks that it is not impossible that such glasses are English (1964: 219). One might add that it is not probable either. While engraved dates are not necessarily accurate, the size of the *Machault* sample indicates the form's great popularity in the third quarter of the 18th century.

The French wine glasses were scattered throughout the wreck, but were concentrated on the port side.



2 French wine glass with hollow six-sided moulded pedestal stem (*bouton carré*) and round funnel bowl, non-lead metal; third quarter 18th century. (Photo by G. Lupien.)



adjacent to the keelson and well forward. The very number of glasses is sufficient to indicate that they were cargo, and additional evidence is the fact that the feet show no wear, which would have been the case had they been used to any extent. Why they were included in the cargo is unclear. Documentary research has not disclosed them among items requested from the crown by threatened Montreal, nor among items actually shipped although wine of several varieties does figure in both lists (Beattie 1968). The enterprise was mounted by the crown, but evidently merchants and ships' officers could speculate privately in commodities such as glass.

English stemware is represented by seven drawn plain stems with trumpet bowls and a fragment from a glass with an opaque-twist stem. All are of lead metal.

The tall plain-stemmed glasses were a fashionable style from about 1735 until the early 1760s in England (Hughes 1956: 88-9). Rudimentary plain-stemmed wine glasses were in use as common ware throughout the century and later, but there is a clear distinction between these short-stemmed and usually clumsily made glasses, and those made during the period in which the style was fashionable. Of the latter it has been remarked: "Some would say that this [is] one of the most

3 English wine glass with drawn plain stem, lead metal; fashionable about 1735-65. (Photo by G. Lupien.)



beautiful English glasses ever designed" (Lloyd 1969: 60). The Restigouche examples (Fig. 3), though they have lost most of their bowls, show some of the gracefulness implied. They are drawn, or two-piece, glasses.

Opaque-twist stems enjoyed popularity in England from 1750 until 1780 (Thorpe 1969: 213-4). The stems were formed separately: cylinders of glass in which enamel rods were imbedded were enclosed by an extra gather of metal, then drawn and twisted to form long canes subsequently broken into appropriate lengths. The Restigouche example has a round funnel bowl and a double-series twist formed of a central and a surrounding corkscrew, both in white (Fig. 4).

The presence of English glass in the French wreck requires some explanation. Before embarking on a lengthy discussion, and lest it be argued that too much is made of a chance occurrence, it should be pointed out that the presence of English table glass at sites with mid-18th century French contexts is a continuing phenomenon, witnessed with certainty at the Fortress of Louisbourg and again at Fort Beau-séjour (McNally 1971: 123). The converse is not true, or at least has not shown itself to date.

In general, English glass deposited in French contexts probably came from several sources. The

4 English wine glass with round funnel bowl, opaque double-series twist stem, lead metal; 1750-80.
(Photo by G. Lupien.)

French writer Paul Bosc d'Antic wrote in 1760: "L'étranger consomme les quatres cinquièmes des glaces angloises . . . aujourd'hui ils nous fournissent des lustres, des lanternes, des verres à boire, des verres d'optique de toute grandeur, &c." (1780: 59). This is evidence enough of a thriving if one-sided trade in glass between France and England, and glass so obtained might easily be forwarded from France to her possessions. Doubtless at least at least some glass was brought to Acadia by New England traders (Clark 1968: 180-2). Still more could have been booty.

The most famous contemporary French observations on English table glass come once again from Bosc d'Antic in 1760. They form as poor a notice as a patriot might fashion against pernicious foreign manufactures.

Les Anglois ne doivent point se flatter. . . . Leur cristal n'est pas d'une belle couleur; il tire sur le jaune ou sur le brun, pour peu que la couleur rouge de la manganèse domine. Il est si mal cuit, qu'il ressue le sel, se crassit, se rouille promptement, est rempli de points et nébuleux. . . . Il a encore un autre défaut capital, c'est d'être extrêmement tendre. Ils vendent cher leurs ouvrages (1780: 60).

To be fair, the physical defects outlined had troubled English crystal some decades earlier, but certainly no longer applied after 1750. Unless the English made a habit of sending inferior glass to foreign markets, the criticism was unjustified, and might



indeed be turned against much French table glass at the time — witness the tumbler base found at the Restigouche wreck, the primary identifying feature of which is its tendency to deteriorate and discolour in a certain manner. And certainly the faults and expense had little effect on appetite for the product, as Bosc d'Antic himself indicates: "Il n'est point de pays où les Anglois ne trouvent moyen d'introduire leurs ouvrages de cristal et de verre" (1780: 59).

The English table glass on board the *Machault* might have been purchased in France, or taken from one of the nine small British ships captured by the French fleet in the Gulf of St. Lawrence before they arrived at Chaleur Bay (Beattie 1968). If it had been obtained in France, either for speculative purposes or for the personal wants of an officer, it was certainly purchased in preference to the domestic alternative: the large number of French wine glasses aboard the ship attest to their availability. Such preference is emphasized by the observation that English table glass was apparently available in France only at specialized English shops (Barrelet 1953: 107). If the glasses were taken from one of the captured English ships, more wine glasses were not strictly needed on the French ship, though the stemware may have served as

souvenirs. In either case, their occurrence is the product of preference rather than necessity.

The reason for French preference for English glass was at least partly aesthetic. The French glass industry was at something of an impasse. Supplies of wood fuel were dwindling, as they had in Britain much earlier. Britain, of necessity using coal, had hotter and more efficient furnaces. Having to cover their melting pots to exclude coal fumes, British glassmakers found they could make glass freer of impurities. These improvements, along with the development of lead glass, were the foundation for an independent British commercial and stylistic tradition. While the French were beginning to form their own tradition, there was considerable distraction in the ease and short-run inexpense of importation, as well as the influence on styles which such imports inevitably had. In 1760, l'Académie des Sciences offered financial rewards for ideas to boost the flagging industry (Wilkinson 1968: 182). The uniform nature of the French glass on the *Machault* may be indicative of the restricted repertoire of domestic glassmakers.

The heavy styles of English table glass in the first half of the 18th century had never made much impression on the continental market which largely fell to Bohemian and German glass; however, in 1745 an excise tax, levied by weight, was enacted upon English glass manufacture. The succeeding styles, already inherent in the grandeur and delicate trumpeting of the English plain stem (Fig. 3), are epitomized

in twist stems (Fig. 4) and in cut glass. The tax caused a reduction in size and thickness of the vessels and forced the use of ornamentation to make up for the absence of lustre. Curiously, the result, rarely less than elegant, was a delightful expression of rococo and the new styles caught the fancy of continental consumers on a grand scale as Bosc d'Antic's remarks rather ruefully indicate. An elastic commercial spirit caused English glassmakers to capitalize on apparently ruinous taxation by allowing it to force them to meet foreign taste. "All foreign commissions to be executed to the utmost care and perfection" read a 1757 advertisement in the *Whitehall Evening Post* (Thorpe 1961: 209).

It is very doubtful that English table glass was less expensive than French — Bosc d'Antic remarked on its dearth, the lead oxide flux used was costly, and French stemware far outnumbers English on the wreck (that is, if English table glass were cheaper as well as desirable, more of it could be expected). In addition to its attractiveness, one further attribute may have increased the popularity of English glass. Lead glass was more durable than thinner and more brittle non-lead glass, as shown by the relatively better condition of English glass artifacts after two centuries in the ice and tides of the Restigouche.

Perhaps as striking as the presence of English table glass is the

presence of a large quantity of stemware of any kind. This is emphasized by the fact that the *Machault* was on an emergency mission to embattled New France, and also by contrast with the yield of table glass from at least three French forts dating to the 1750s. At Forts Gaspe-reau and Beauséjour, New Brunswick, dating to the first half of the decade, and at Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan, which was French until 1761, French table glass was restricted to tumblers, which in most cases were the pinkish crizzled non-lead glasses (Fig. 1; Thompson 1971; McNally 1971; Brown 1971).

That a supply of wine glasses was en route to Montreal in 1760 may point to one or both of two social and economic phenomena. The availability of table glass to classes other than the very rich was increasing rapidly in the middle of the 18th century. The few years between 1760 and the early 1750s may have seen a marked decrease in the cost of glass, along with an increase in the output of glass factories, while the middle class was growing. More probably, however, the number of relatively wealthy individuals in Montreal was very large in comparison to that in more isolated posts. Excavations at the Fortress of Louisbourg and at Place Royale in Quebec City recovered considerably more French table glass than a few tumblers, and included stemware identical to that found at the *Machault* wreck (Lafrenière: pers. com.). Thus a tentative picture of widely disparate economic fortunes in New France is

indicated by preliminary evidence in table glass research. Such a picture, of course, will surprise no one.

The presence on the *Machault* of a rather large consignment of French table glass, not essential for the relief of New France and, for that period, nearly luxury goods, may also lead to the conclusion that as late as the spring of 1760 – a time when Quebec City had fallen and all New France was threatened – there existed a certain amount of French confidence in the maintenance of French colonies in North America, either through an improvement in French military fortunes or diplomatic bargaining at the treaty table (John P. Heisler: pers. com.).

Conclusions

Since the table glass collection from the *Machault* is precisely dated, it provides firm ground for inferences normally only hesitantly approached in artifact analyses. The large number of French wine glasses in the ship's cargo could reflect the number of relatively wealthy inhabitants of Montreal who created a demand for good table glass. The presence of such a cargo on the ship could also indicate that France did not expect to lose New France permanently.

The sample of English wine glasses, although small, reflects English leadership in the glass industry of the third quarter of the 18th century and is eloquent material testimony to the popularity of English table glass in its rococo period, even though the source or sources of these glasses is a matter of conjecture.

The range of vessel forms of the French and English table glass recovered from the *Machault* perhaps seem strikingly limited to those who are accustomed to regarding the middle of the 18th century as an age of elegance, but, viewed with some other archaeological collections of table glass from New France, the range of forms is relatively wide.

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The Western European Coarse Earthenwares from the Wreck of the *Machault*

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Abstract

The bulk of the coarse earthenware ceramics recovered from the *Machault*, a French ship sunk in the Restigouche River in 1760, comprises three types: Type 1, green-glazed white-fabric ware; Type 2 slip-decorated red-fabric ware, and Type 3, undecorated, unglazed and partly glazed red-fabric ware. The remainder are miscellaneous decorated and undecorated coarse earthenwares. The coarse earthenwares originated in Western Europe: a source in southwestern France is postulated for Type 1 and in the south of France or southwestern France for Types 2 and 3. The evidence suggests that Types 1, 2 and 3 were part of the cargo of the *Machault* and that the miscellaneous coarse earthenwares were ship's goods.

Submitted for publication 1973, by K. J. Barton, County Museum Service, Winchester, England.

Sommaire

Sous la direction de M. Walter Zacharchuk, de la Direction des lieux et des parcs historiques nationaux, la fouille aquatique du *Machault*, navire français coulé en 1760 dans la rivière Restigouche, a conduit à la mise au jour d'un grand nombre d'objets en céramique. Dans l'article qui suit, l'on décrit et étudie le groupe de poteries grossières récupérées. L'étude — d'où son intérêt — permet d'établir des coordonnées de temps et de lieu précises pour des objets qui, jusqu'ici, n'étaient que vaguement rattachés à des origines européennes et britanniques.

Le gros des pièces se divise en trois types: type 1: poteries à pâte blanche, enduits de glaçure verte; type 2: poteries à pâte rouge, décorées d'engobe; type 3: poteries à pâte rouge non vernies ou partiellement vernies, sans motif. Parmi les vases du type 1, il y a des cruches, des flacons, des plats à barbe, des gamelles, des terrines à crème, des poêlons, de grands bols à rebord, de petites coupes, des marmites tripodes à bords évasés et à couvercle, des jarres et des assiettes. Du type 2, on trouve des bols évasés à bord rabattu, des plats et des assiettes. Le type 3 comporte des jarres et des marmites à fond arrondi et à deux poignées.

Le reste du lot consiste en poteries diverses décorées ou non: assiettes décorées d'une série de points disposés en cercle; un bol à engobe marbré; plats à pâte rouge engobés de blanc et à motifs verts;

plats à pâte rouge recouverts d'une fine glaçure marron, des assiettes, des gamelles, des couvercles et une poignée de soupière, tous décorés de traînées d'engobe noir, et une marmite non décorée.

Les poteries grossières viennent des pays occidentaux de l'Europe. L'auteur considère que le Sud-Ouest de la France, et plus particulièrement La Chapelle-des-Pots, dans la région de Saintes, est le lieu d'origine du type 1; le Sud-Ouest ou le Midi de la France seraient les lieux d'origine des types 2 et 3. Les poteries diverses proviendraient du Sud-Ouest, du Midi et même, du Nord de la France.

Les faits semblent indiquer que les poteries des types 1, 2 et 3 faisaient partie de la cargaison du *Machault* et que les autres appartenaient au navire; cependant quelques pièces de la cargaison ne sont représentées que par un exemplaire et elles ont pu être la propriété des membres de l'équipage.

Preface

The coarse earthenware ceramics recovered from the *Machault* during the 1969 and 1971 field seasons were studied by K. J. Barton of the County Museum Service, Winchester, England, under contract to the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Supplementary analyses were made by R. H. Packwood, Metal Physics Section, Mines Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources and R. J. Traill, Mineralogy Section, Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. The Conservation Division of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch arranged the thin-section examination and X-ray fluorescence analysis of selected sherds by the Geological Survey of Canada, carried out cleaning and restoration of a selection of the ceramics, and undertook an experimental program of refiring the blackened ceramics to reveal the decoration.

The following analysis was based on unpublished research by K. J. Barton. Subsequent to his study of this material, the writer studied similar items from Fort Beauséjour, New Brunswick, and the Fortress of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia. The latter collection considerably altered his early concepts and his latest thoughts are included here although research into the origins of the Louisbourg material has only just begun.

Introduction

The *Machault* was one of six ships of a French relief fleet which left Bordeaux on 10 April 1760 to carry supplies to New France. Soon after leaving port two of the ships were captured by the British and later a third foundered near the Azores Islands. The *Machault*, the other remaining French ships, the *Bien-faisant* and the *Marquis de Malauze*, and a number of captured British vessels anchored in the mouth of Restigouche River at the head of Chaleur Bay to await instructions from Montreal. There they were attacked by a British fleet and on 8 July 1760 the *Machault*, the bulk of its cargo still on board, was blown up and sunk to prevent the British from capturing it (Beattie and Pothier 1976).

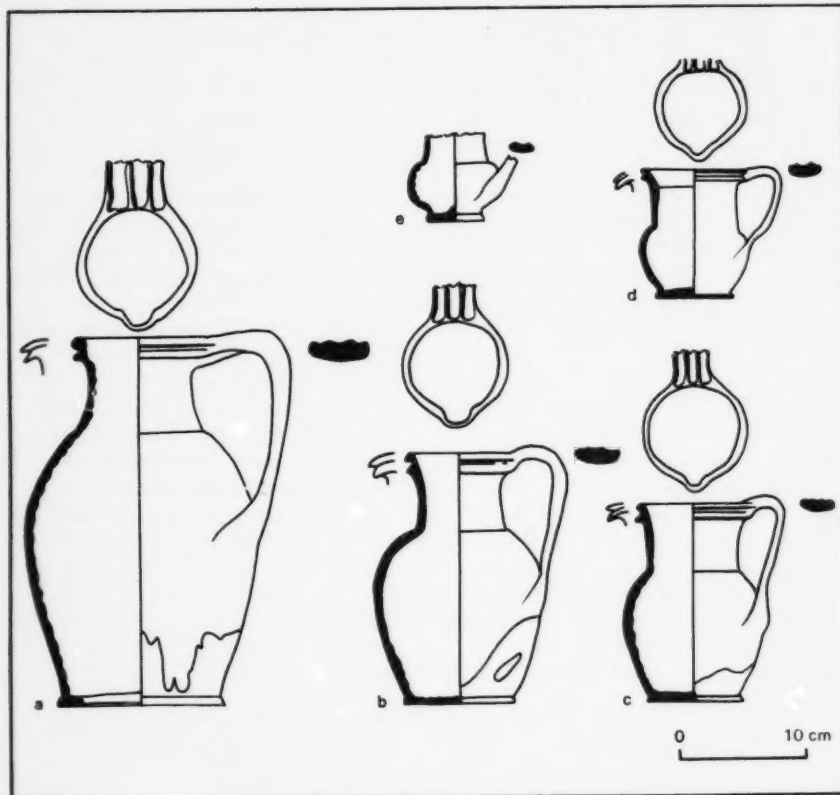
Walter Zacharchuk of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch directed the underwater excavation

of the *Machault* in 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972. A large number of the artifacts recovered from the ship were ceramics and these included coarse earthenwares, tin-glazed earthenwares, porcelain and some salt-glazed stonewares. Most of the ceramics were found in the port section of the bow. Evidence indicates that the bulk of the ceramics were possibly shipped in barrels and that some delicate porcelain had been packed in straw, but in what material the other ceramics had been packed is not known (Zacharchuk: pers. com.).

The importance of the study lies in its providing a well-dated closed context for material hitherto only very generally datable from European and British contexts.

In the following discussion, vessels are divided according to their form. All rim, base and height measurements in the tables are in centimetres. Colours are further described using the Munsell colour notation system (Munsell Color Company 1960) in Appendix C.

1 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) jugs:
a, largest size; b, second-largest size; c, third-
largest size; d, third-largest size, and e, smallest
size. (Drawing by author.)



The Coarse Earthenwares

The bulk of the coarse earthenware ceramics recovered from the *Ma-chault* comprises three types: Type 1, green-glazed white-fabric ware (Figs. 1–9); Type 2, slip-decorated red-fabric ware (Figs. 10–16), and Type 3, undecorated, unglazed and partly glazed red-fabric ware (Figs. 17–21). The remainder are miscellaneous decorated and undecorated coarse earthenwares (Figs. 22–27).

Type 1: Green-Glazed White-Fabric Ware

The green-glazed white-fabric vessels are jugs, flagons, bowls, skillets, tripod cooking pots with lids, cream pans, storage jars and plates (Figs. 1–9).

The fabric is cream buff or pale pink in colour with a smooth chalky texture. No deliberately introduced inclusions appear in the fabric, but very small ochrous pebbles occasionally occur.

The vessels were poorly thrown and were cut from a stilled wheel with wire. The handles were press-moulded in a box. Each handle was fastened to the top of the rim and basally fastened to the outside of the body by pressing the handle out and smoothing it down.

In all cases, the lead glaze is stained bright apple green with copper oxide. Minor impurities, possibly of iron, cause occasional staining in the glaze. Subsequent to manufacture, the glaze on many of the vessels was attacked and blackened (see Appendix A). The glaze is often markedly cracked. The vessels were dip glazed and

2 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) jugs:
a, smallest size; b, third-largest size; c, second-
largest size, and d, largest size. (Photo by J. Jolin.)



intentionally glazed internally. The majority were not glazed on the base.

The majority of the vessels were fired upside down, some on the side, and were stacked very closely together during firing, resulting in many "stick" marks.

The above descriptions fit all vessels in Type 1 unless otherwise stated.

1. Jugs

The jugs (Figs. 1, 2) have globular bodies and pulled spouts. The small jug illustrated in Figure 1e and Figure 2a is the only example of its kind which suggests that it may

be from the crew's supplies and not cargo. The jugs can be divided into four groups on the basis of size. There was a sufficient number of jugs to make comparative measurements: 2 examples of the largest size (Figs. 1a, 2d), 5 examples of the second-largest size (Figs. 1b, 2c), 15 examples of the third-largest size (Figs. 1c, d, 2b), and 1 example of the smallest size (Figs. 1e, 2a).

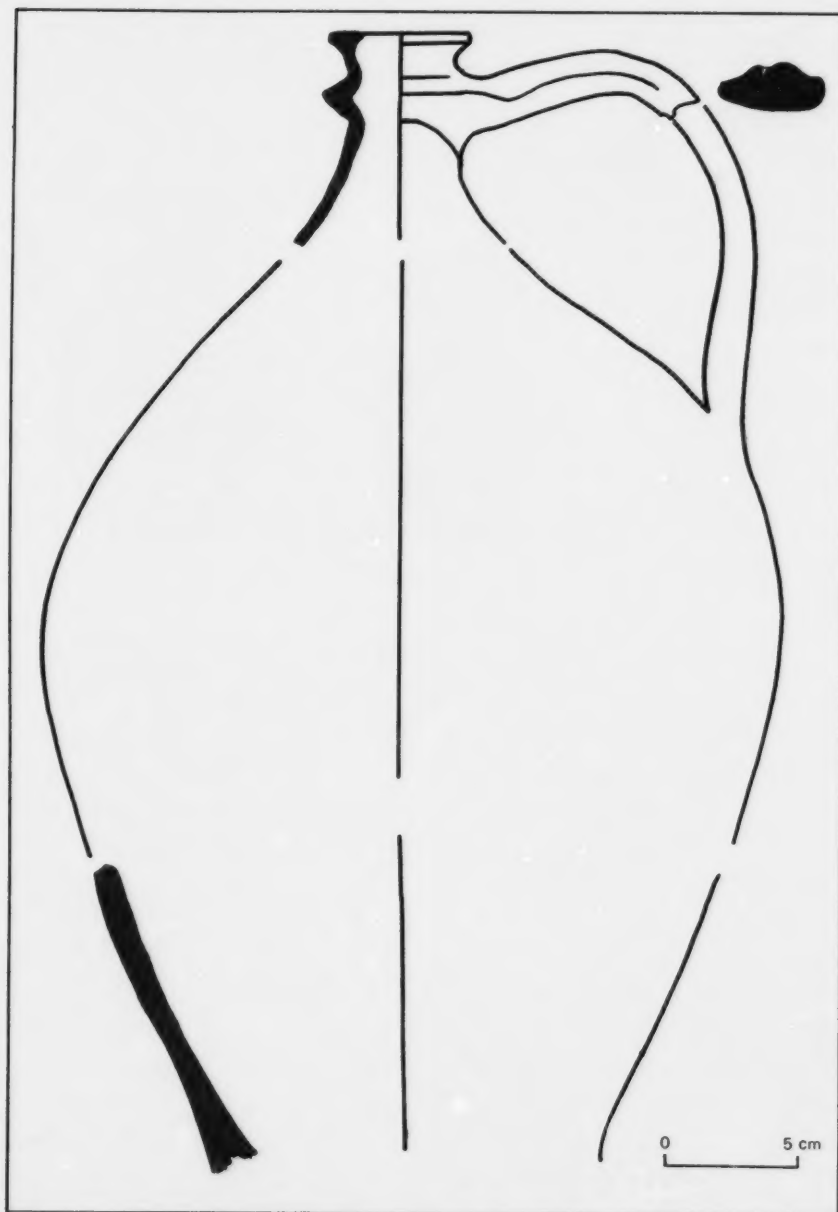
	Rim	Base	Height
<i>Largest size</i>			
Maximum	11.8	12.9	32.5
Minimum	11.0	14.1	31.7
Mean	11.4	13.5	32.1
<i>Second-largest size</i>			
Maximum	9.8	9.6	22.5
Minimum	9.1	9.4	21.5
Mean	9.6	9.4	22.0
<i>Third-largest size</i>			
Maximum	9.3	8.2	17.5
Minimum	8.0	6.5	15.3
Mean	8.6	7.3	16.3
<i>Smallest size</i>			
Mean	8.3	6.5	11.6

The capacities of complete jugs in each of the four size groups were measured. Two measurements were taken from each jug: Maximum A, capacity when the jug was filled to the lip, and Maximum B, capacity when the jug was filled to the neck. In use, a jug would probably have been filled to a level between the bottom of the neck and the lip. The following measurements are in millilitres.

	Maximum A	Maximum B
<i>Largest size</i>		
	5,200	4,765
	5,100	4,375
<i>Second-largest size</i>		
	1,790	1,500
	1,750	1,600
	1,750	1,400
	1,720	1,345
<i>Third-largest size</i>		
	925	700
	860	690
	755	565
	735	575
	700	540
	680	555
<i>Smallest size</i>		
	325	200

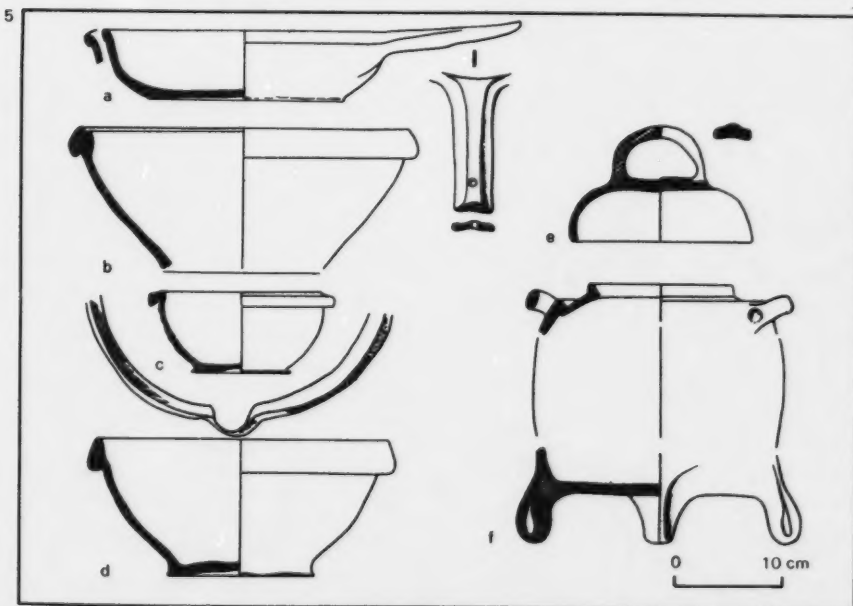
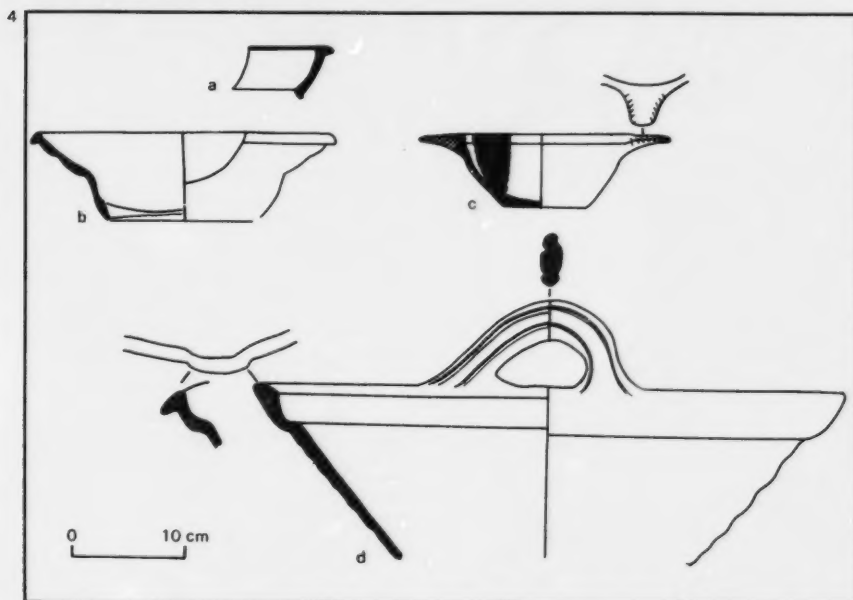
2. Flagons

A fragment of the spout and handle of one vessel and several fragments of the lower portion of other similar vessels were recovered (Figs. 3, 6a). The strap handle is held to the neck under the rim on a wide flange. (The writer has such a vessel, purchased in Saintes, Charente-Maritime, in his collection.) Comparative material occurs in the Fortress of Louisbourg collection.



4 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) vessels:
a, barber's bowl; b, barber's bowl; c, porringer, and
d, cream pan. (Drawing by author.)

5 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) vessels:
a, skillet; b, large lipped bowl with rim grooved on
top; c, small bowl; d, large lipped bowl with egg-
shaped rim section; e, lid of f, and f, tripod everted-
rim cooking pot. (Drawing by author.)



3. Barbers' Bowls

Fragments of the rims and upper portion of several examples of these wide-flanged bowls, with two slightly different profiles as illustrated (Fig. 4a, b), were recovered. After throwing, a large semi-circular piece was cut from each bowl rim with a wire. The cut edges were not trimmed.

4. Porringers

Fragments of several small-rimmed bowls and handles of similar form to the one illustrated (Figs. 4c, 6d) were recovered. The example illustrated is a composite from several fragments. The handle illustrated is lightly slashed along its edges whereas the others that were examined were not treated in this way. The exteriors are clear yellow-glazed. They are decorated in probably four places on the inside of the bowl with a sprinkling of iron powder put on the wet glaze.

5. Cream Pans

The vessel illustrated in Figure 4d, a cream pan with two loop-handles and a square pouring spout, is a composite from several fragments. Each handle is a moulded strap handle applied on its side to the upper rim of the vessel (Fig. 6b). Some handles are less well set than others, the holes being too small to grip. These vessels were mainly fired upside down, but some have been fired rim uppermost. The rim diameter measurements are all 52 cm. No base fragments were recognized. Cream pans were also recovered at Louisbourg.

6 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) sherds:
a, flagon neck and portion of handle; b, cream pan
handle and rim portion; c, skillet handle, and d,
porringer handle. (Photo by J. Jolin.)



6. Skillets

Twenty-seven fragments of shallow bowls with slight pouring lips are associated with strap handles joined to the same rim shapes as those on the bowls. As these rim shapes only occur on such shallow bowls, it is construed that these two forms belong together to form a shallow skillet (Figs. 5a, 6c).

Each handle was pierced so the vessel could be suspended when not in use. The moulded handles widen where they are fastened to the rim of the bowl and have a cut chamfer at the far end. All the skillets appear to have been fired rim uppermost. Rim diameters range from 14 cm. to 16 cm.

7. Large Lipped Bowls

The large lipped bowls are of two kinds, the variation being only in the rim shape: a number of the rims are grooved on the top (Fig. 5b), but the most common form is the egg-shaped rim section (Figs. 5d, 7), fired rim uppermost. Diameters for both variants, 20 examples, are:

	Rim	Base	Height
Maximum	34.0	17.0	16.0
Minimum	28.5	14.0	13.0
Mean	31.5	15.5	14.5

8. Small Bowls

Small well-made vessels with square-section rims were recovered. There are minor variations of the rims, but they are principally the same as the example illustrated (Figs. 5c, 8). Most of these bowls

- 7 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) large lipped bowl with egg-shaped rim section. (Photo by J. Jolin.)
8 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) small bowl. (Photo by G. Lupien.)

were fired on their sides; the rest were fired rim uppermost. Diameters of 50 examples are:

	Rim	Base	Height
Maximum	22.0	10.0	7.5
Minimum	16.0	8.5	6.5
Mean	18.0	9.2	6.8

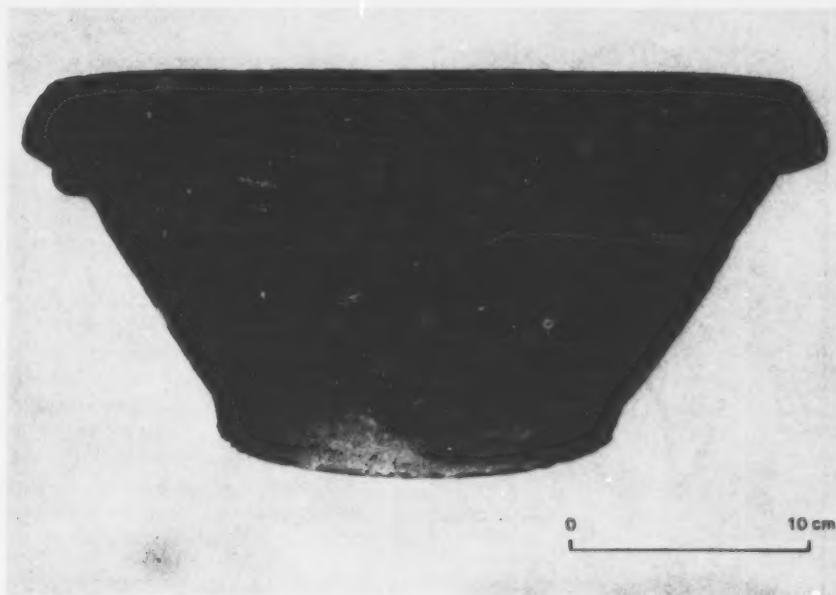
Comparative material was recovered at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

10. Tripod Everted-Rim Cooking Pots and 9. Associated Lids

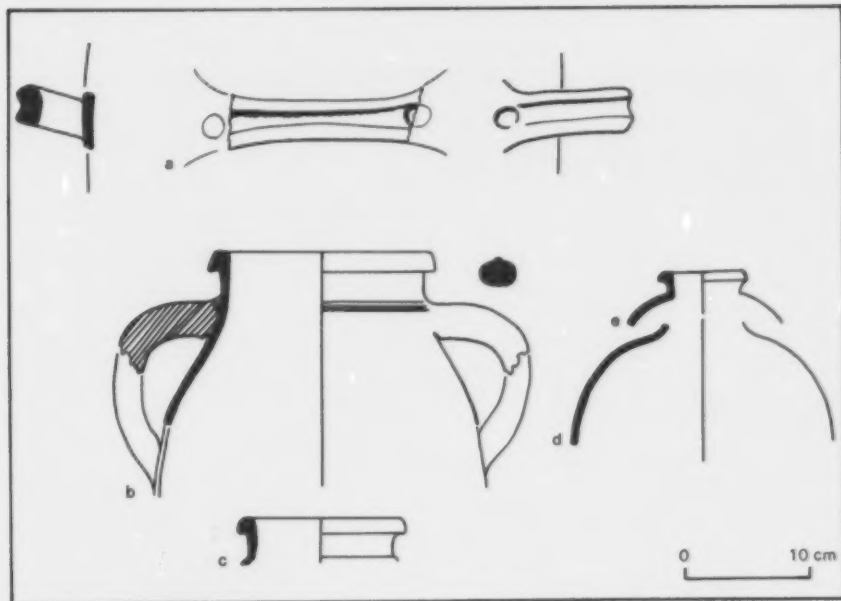
The lid illustrated (Fig. 5e) was reconstructed from fragments as were the rim, base, handles and feet of the cooking pot (Fig. 5f). Both lid and pot are paralleled by complete examples in the collections at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

The lids were thrown as small cup-shaped bowls, then inverted and a grooved strap handle applied over the top.

The cooking pots have sharply everted rims on angular shoulders providing seating to take lids of the form illustrated. Although a pot could not be reconstructed, the sherds indicated that the body is drum-shaped. The pots have three feet comprised of pulled lengths of clay pressed on and folded back. The handles are set horizontally in a form similar to those on horizontal-handled large storage jars.



9 Green-glazed white-fabric ware (Type 1) vessels:
a, horizontal handle of a storage jar; *b*, vertical-
 handled large storage jar; *c*, neck and rim of smaller
 vertical-handled storage jar; *d*, small storage
 jar, and *e*, rim, neck and shoulder of small storage
 jar. (Drawing by author.)



see Figure 9a. The way in which the handles are fastened to the vessel is confirmed by a similar vessel at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

The vessels were fired on their sides.

11. Storage Jars

A. Vertical-Handled Large Storage Jars

Figure 9b is a conjectural drawing of a vertical-handled large storage jar based on five fragments. The handles are of solid rod section with a marked ridge on the front and are opposed and set vertically. The vessels are glazed only on the inside.

Figure 9c illustrates a rim of similar but smaller form of which two examples exist. The two smaller rims are glazed both inside and out.

B. Small Storage Jars

One rim fragment (Fig. 9e) and the part of the side of another vessel (Fig. 9d), glazed on the outside only, were recovered. They are finely thrown. There is no evidence of any fittings.

C. Horizontal-Handled Large Storage Jars

A large handle of the horizontal type (Fig. 9a) was applied at a slight angle to each vessel. The handle, box-moulded and fixed with two deep indentations, was probably from a cylindrical vessel of "bread crock" type.

12. Plates

Fragments of four plates were recovered, but they were too insignificant to draw. The inner rim flange averages 18 cm.

13. Base Fragment

One base fragment, possibly from a very thick vessel with inward-sloping walls, was recovered. It may have been from an alembic (a vessel used in distillation).

Type 2: Slip-Decorated Red-Fabric Ware

The slip-decorated red-fabric vessels are bowls, dishes and plates (Figs. 10–16).

The decorated vessels had stood in crates or barrels packed in vegetable matter and had been burned during the destruction of the *Ma-chault*. The burning had the effect of almost completely destroying all evidence of pattern and colour range as the vessels were totally blackened on the glazed areas. The decoration was only indicated by raised lines where the slip was of sufficient height to be seen or felt.

Similar ware from the Fortress of Louisbourg shows that not only the burning was responsible for the poor condition of these vessels. The very poor quality of this ware caused the glaze to flake and fail even when newly delivered.

The fabric is slightly sandy and its standard colour is brick red. Large irregular quartz crystals occur naturally but infrequently in the fabric; these have a greater frequency of distribution in the larger vessels than in the smaller ones. Flecks of mica are common throughout the range of vessels.

The throwing of all the vessels is of a high order for earthenwares. The vessels were cut from a stilled

wheel with wire. White clay slip covers the inside of the vessels, slightly lapping over the edges, a feature common to all the vessels. Decoration is trailed slip, probably confined to only two colours – green and brown – on the white ground. The central design common to all the small vessels is a whorl. Other than those motifs illustrated (Figs. 10a, b, 11a-f) there is some evidence for birds and other unidentifiable symbols.

The insides of the vessels are covered with a clear lead glaze, the colour of which (where it can be seen) appears to be pale green, often of a slightly creamy nature. The glaze is washed on and does not go beyond the rim or, in many cases, completely cover the slip.

1. Flanged Bowls, Dishes and Plates

With the minor exception of the flanged rim and the motif, these vessels are all variations of the same form. They are thrown to the same profile and have the same bead rim, the same foot dimple and the same sharply defined angles. They should therefore be considered as of one family, all probably made by the same hand.

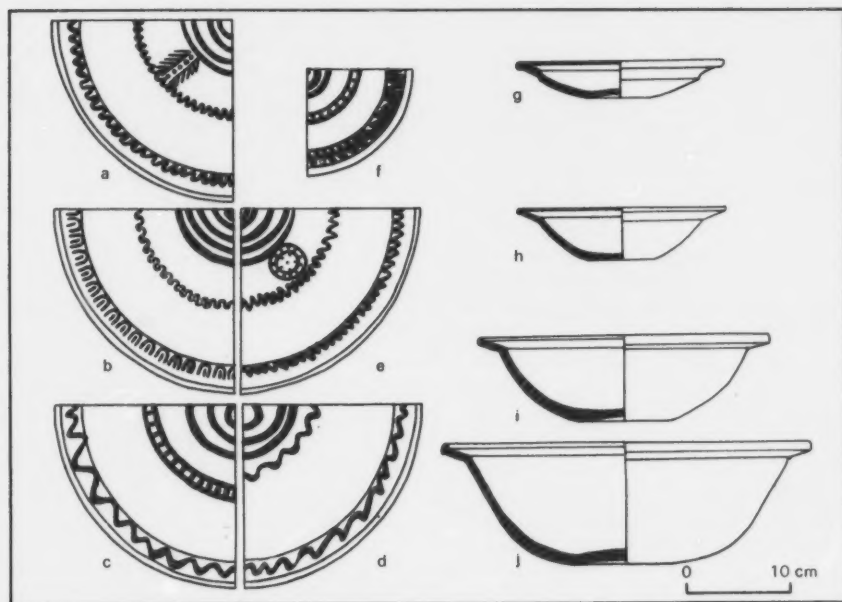
A. Flanged Bowls

The decorative motifs on the flanged bowl illustrated in Figure 10c, b and the accompanying base fragment (Fig. 10a) are different from those of other flanged bowls (although less so in the case of the base fragment). The tulip motif (Fig. 10b) is drawn from what can be seen in relief as the bowl is completely blackened.

10 Slip-decorated red-fabric ware (Type 2): a, decoration on a base fragment of a flanged bowl; b, decoration on a flanged bowl, and c, flanged bowl. (Drawing by author.)



11 Slip-decorated red-fabric ware (Type 2) vessels and associated decorative motifs: *a* to *e*, motifs on flanged dishes; *f*, motif on flanged plate; *g*, flanged plate; *h*, *i* and *j*, flanged dishes. (Drawing by author.)



Although the fabric of this piece has not been examined microscopically, it is included here on the grounds of form and the fact that it has been burned. The use of a tulip as decoration is, however, a puzzle if this piece is southwestern French although another tulip occurs in the Fortress of Louisbourg collection and it is known on vessels in the northwest and from Beauvais (Oise) in particular where it is given a general date range of the 17th and 18th centuries (Musée National de Céramique de Sèvres 1973: 32, Pl. 320).

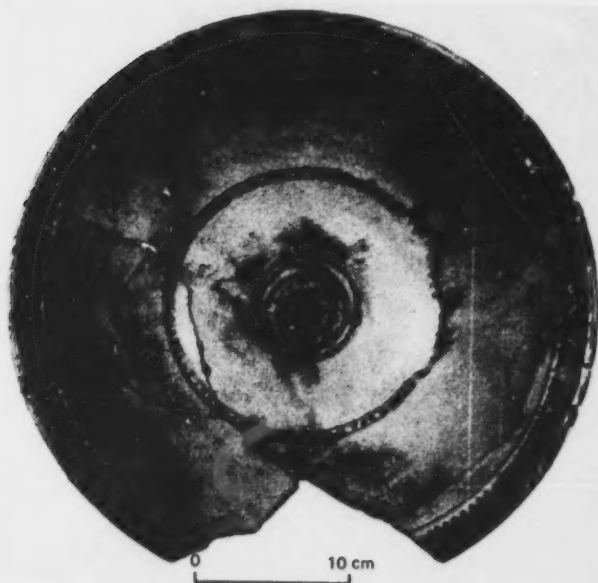
B. Flanged Dishes

The second-largest size and largest size flanged dishes (Fig. 11*i*, *j*) are decorated with whorls, zig-zags, "circles of dots" (Fig. 11*b-e*) and "wheat ears" (Fig. 11*a*). The most common design used, illustrated in Figure 11*c*, could be seen on 25 vessels. The designs illustrated in Figure 11*b* and *d* occurred on three vessels, and each of those illustrated in Figure 11*a* and *e* only on one. No designs were seen on the smallest flanged dishes examined (Fig. 11*h*), but many of these dishes were burned into stacks and a definitive examination was not possible. Dish dimensions are:

	Height	Width
<i>Largest size flanged dishes</i>		
Maximum	12.0	38.0
Minimum	9.7	31.0
Mean	10.0	34.5
<i>Second-largest size flanged dishes</i>		
Maximum	10.0	30.5
Minimum	7.0	25.5
Mean	8.0	28.0

12, 13 Slip-decorated red-fabric ware (Type 2)
flanged dish, refired. (Photos by J. Jolin.)

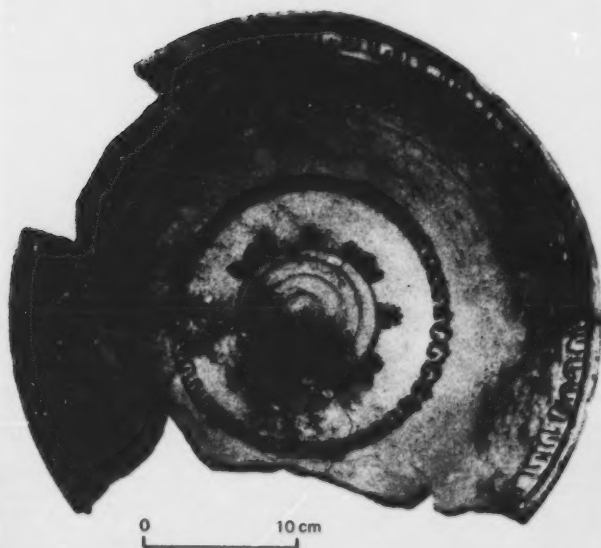
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14



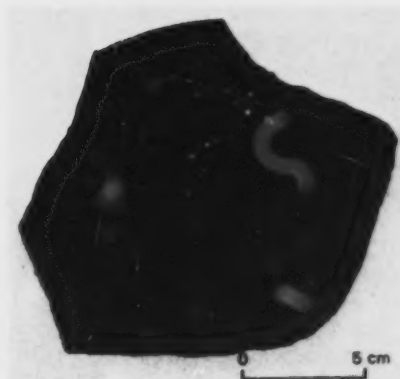
13



15



16 Slip-decorated red-fabric ware (Type 2) flanged plate, refired. (Photo by J. Jolin.)



C. Flanged Plates

The flanged plates (Fig. 11g) are all decorated. The decoration on them (Fig. 11f) is a variant of the design illustrated in Figure 11c. Plate dimensions are:

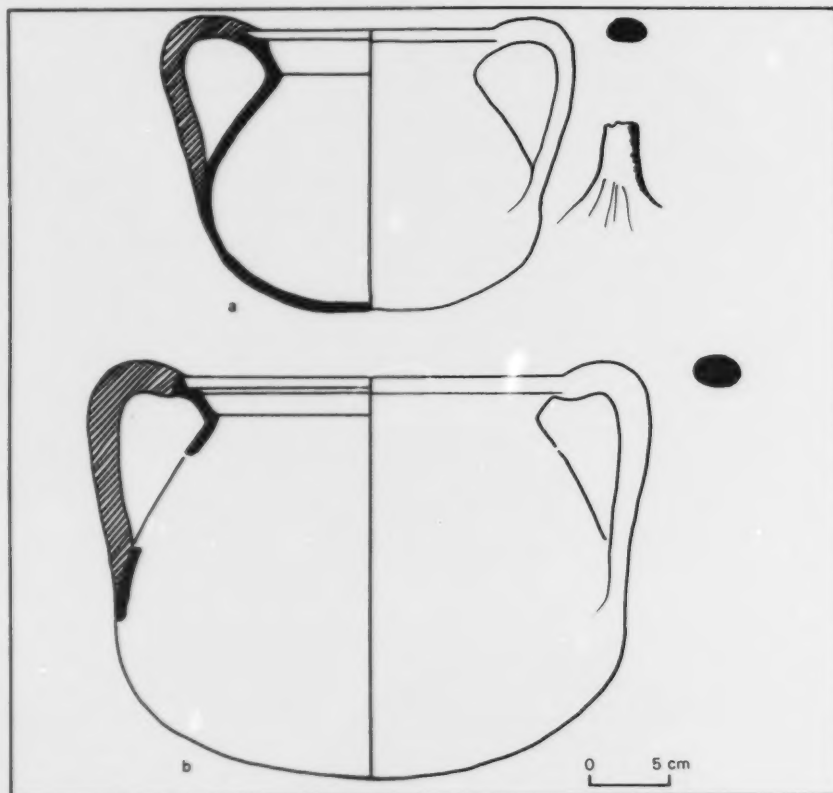
	Height	Width
Maximum	4.8	22.0
Minimum	3.5	20.5
Mean	4.0	21.0

Type 3: Undecorated, Unglazed and Partly Glazed Red-Fabric Ware

The undecorated, unglazed and partly glazed red-fabric ware is comprised of cooking pots and storage jars (Figs. 17–21).

The fabric is hard, slightly sandy and brick red in colour, sometimes

17 Undecorated, partly glazed red-fabric ware (Type 3) double-handled round-bottomed cooking pots: a, small, and b, large. (Drawing by author.)



8 Undecorated, partly glazed red-fabric ware (Type 3)
small double-handled round-bottomed cooking
pot. (Photo by J. Jolin.)



firing to a deep buff colour. It contains occasional small quartz crystals and pieces of mica. The appearance and feel of this fabric is identical to that of the Type 2 materials.

1. Double-Handled Round-Bottomed Cooking Pots

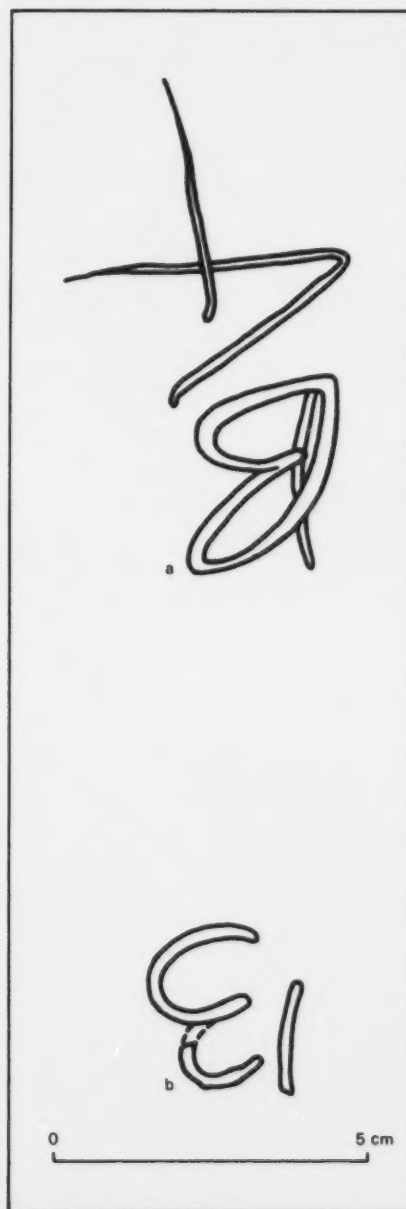
The double-handled round-bottomed cooking pots (Figs. 17, 18) were thrown in the same way as the slipware. The bases are slightly flattened and not completely dished. The handles, of rod section, are fastened to the top of the rims. The basal fastening is pressed onto the pot and smoothed out. They are glazed only around the inside of the rim although some pots exhibit traces of glaze on the inside of the base. No slip; no decoration.

During firing the pots were stacked one on top of another, base on rim which is indicated by a colour change and the presence of volatilized glaze from the pot beneath on the outside of the base of the pot stacked above it.

Two sizes of this form were examined: small (Fig. 17a) and large (Fig. 17b). Examples of the latter were very fragmentary. Only one complete example occurred and that was of the small size (Fig. 18). Diameters of rim sizes were the only guide to vessel size:

Small	Large
Maximum 25.0	Maximum 18.0
Minimum 20.0	Minimum 15.0
Mean 23.0	Mean 16.0

- 19 Undecorated, unglazed red-fabric (Type 3) storage jars: a, storage jar, and b, storage jar rim and neck. (Drawing by author.)
- 20 Inscriptions on undecorated, unglazed red-fabric ware (Type 3) storage jars. (Drawing by D. Kappler.)



2. Storage Jars

The storage jars were thrown in one piece and had cut footrings and bases. No glaze; no decoration. They were fired very hard.

The nearly complete storage jar illustrated (Figs. 19a, 21) is matched by several fragments of which four rims are of similar form and size. Only one rim form of the kind illustrated in Figure 19b occurs. There are three examples of the inscription illustrated in Figure 20a and one example of the inscription illustrated in Figure 20b. Comparative material was found at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

21 Undecorated, unglazed red-fabric ware (Type 3)
reconstructed storage jar. (Photo by J. Jolin.)

Miscellaneous Decorated and Undecorated Coarse Earthenwares
In the miscellaneous decorated and undecorated category are plates, a bowl, dishes, porringers, lids and a cooking pot (Figs. 22–27).

1. Plates with "Circles of Dots"
Decoration

The fabric is brick red, very open and vesicular with fine quartz inclusions. The plates were thrown on a small domed "bat" to give a seating to the vessel. The quality of the throwing is very poor. They were fired on edge. Although some vessels appear to be undecorated, most are decorated with circles of dots. The decoration is always in a white slip and appears to have been applied with a special tool as the patterns are consistently of the same



22 Red-fabric coarse earthenware vessels and associated decoration: *a, b* and *c*, "circles of dots" decoration on plates; *d*, plate with "circles of dots" decoration; *e*, decoration on marbled-slip bowl, and *f*, marbled-slip bowl. (Drawing by author.)

23 Marbled-slip red-fabric coarse earthenware bowl. (Photo by G. Lupien.)

form and number of dots (Fig. 22*a-c*, 22*6a*). The colour effect, where seen, is of white dots on a brown ground. The glaze was badly damaged by the fire onboard ship.

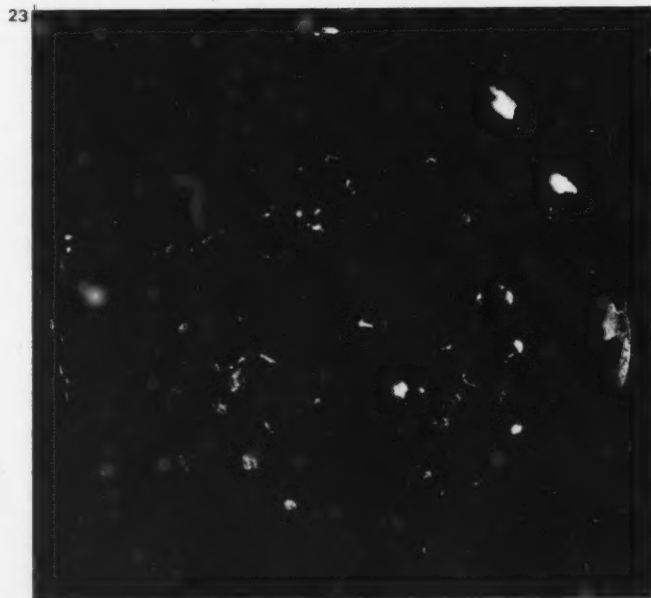
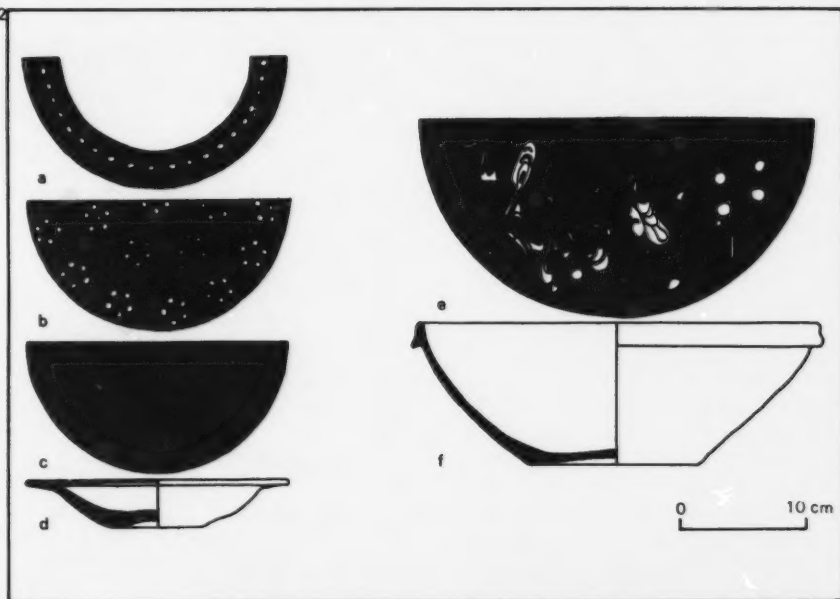
There was only one form of the plates and this was as shown in Figure 22*d*. The dimensions were remarkably constant: height, 4 cm.; width, 11 cm.

2. Marbled-Slip Bowl

The fabric is very hard, dense, slightly sandy and dark red. As a result of being fired in an oxidizing atmosphere in the kiln, the unglazed exterior has become pale buff in colour. The inside of the bowl is covered in a fine purified lead glaze over a marbling of white slip applied while the vessel was very wet – probably while it was still on the wheel. The vessel was then lightly joggled so the marbling is restricted to one part of the vessel only. The colour effect is a white to yellow pattern on a rich dark red surface (Figs. 22*e, f*, 23). Comparative material was found at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

3. White-Slipped Redware Dishes with Applied Green Colour Decoration

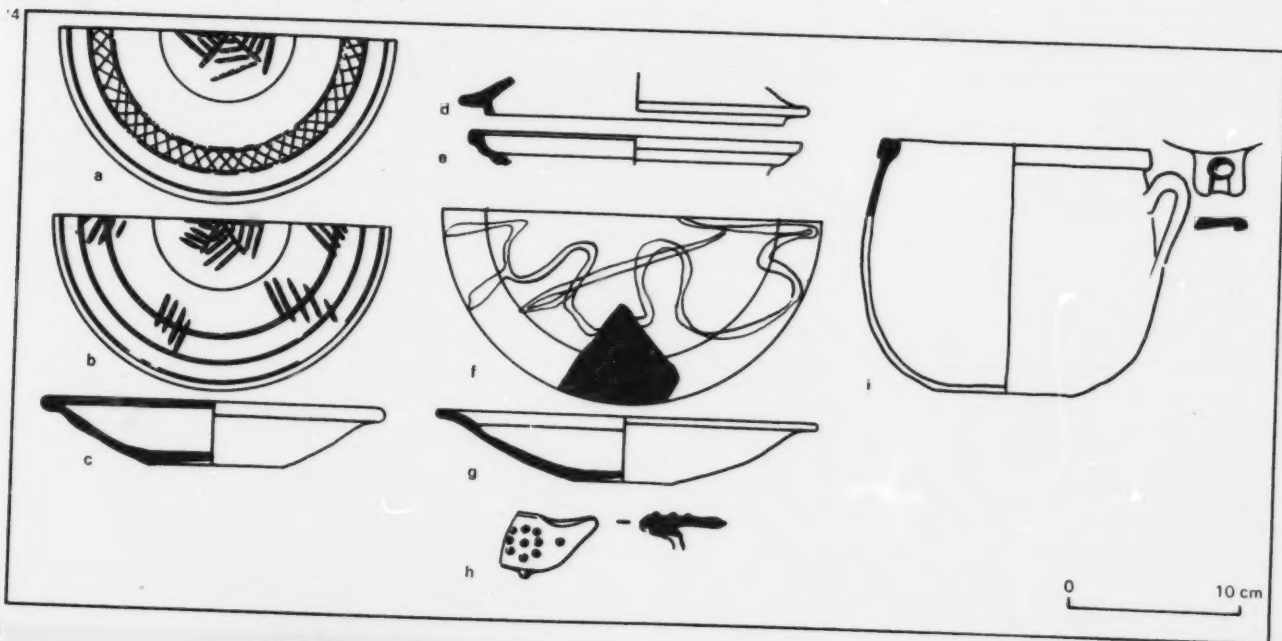
These dishes (Fig. 23*c*) are in a hard, pale pink fabric, unglazed areas of which fire to a rich buff or salmon-red colour. The fabric is slightly vesicular, but is without any



24 Miscellaneous decorated and undecorated coarse earthenware vessels and associated decoration. *a* and *b*, applied green colour decoration on white-slipped redware dishes, and *c*, white-slipped redware dish with applied green colour decoration. Fine brown-glazed red earthenware objects with black trailed slip decoration. *d*, lid; *e*, plate; *g*, plate, and *h*, porringer handle. *f*, black trailed slip

decoration on fine brown-glazed red earthenware plate, and *i*, undecorated coarse earthenware cooking pot. (Drawing by author.)

25 White-slipped redware dish with applied green colour decoration. (Photo by G. Lupien.)



25



0 10 cm

visible or distinct inclusions. The bases were turned while the vessel was leather-hard.

The insides were washed with white slip and subsequently decorated with a pattern in green colour. The original glaze colour of most of the vessels has been altered in the fire aboard ship. Two patterns occur: nine examples of the pattern illustrated in Figures 24*b* and 25 and three examples of the pattern illustrated in Figure 24*a*.

There are slight variations in the height between 3.5 cm. and 4.5 cm.; the principal height is 4 cm. The width is constant at 10.5 cm.

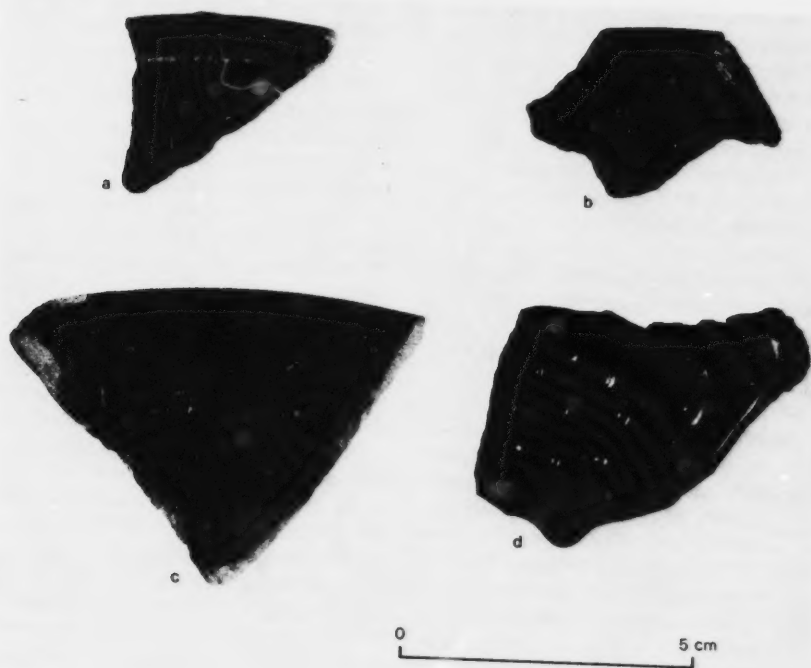
Comparative material was recovered at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

4. Fine Brown-Glazed Red Earthenware with Black Trailed Slip Decoration

The fabric is very hard, very fine, dark red earthenware without inclusions. The vessels, which include plates (Figs. 24*e*, *g*, 27*a*, *c*), dishes, porringers, lids (Figs. 24*d*, 27*b*) and a tureen handle (Figs. 24*h*, 27*d*),



7 Fine brown-glazed red earthenware objects with black trailed slip decoration. *a*, plate sherd; *b*, lid sherd; *c*, plate sherd, and *d*, porringer handle. (Photo by J. Jolin.)



are decorated with black lines poured randomly over the surface, all under a dark and lustrous deep-brown glaze (Fig. 24f).

A tureen handle has a press-moulded design of raised studs. As this material is very fragmentary, parallels have been drawn from material found at Fort Beauséjour and at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

Fragments of four other plates parallel the plate illustrated in Figure 24g.

5. Cooking Pot

A small fragment of the rim and handle and eight rim fragments of a cooking pot were recovered. The illustration (Fig. 24i) is based on the rim and handle fragment and comparative material from Fort Beauséjour and the Fortress of Louisbourg.

The vessel is of coarse buff fabric. The short strap handle has a markedly inturned flange and deep thumbing at the top; it was applied below the rim. Pale green glaze is present on the inside of the pot.

The nine rim fragments range in diameter from 8 cm. to 10 cm.

Conclusions

The study of Western European post-medieval coarse earthenwares is as yet in its infancy and there is a paucity of published reference material on the subject. However, the lead given by the publication of analyses of coarse earthenwares discovered on sites in the Americas should provide considerable stimulus to the study of such wares for it is in the Americas from at least A.D. 1600 onward that ceramic types with tight date brackets will be recognized, thus aiding their identification on the European mainland.

Such a reference group is formed by the ceramics recovered from the *Machault* for they can be given the precise terminal date of 8 July 1760. No other such precise date is available for any post-medieval type so far discussed in print. This fact and the lack of comparative published material makes this report a pioneer study. The results of discussing the *Machault* coarse earthenwares in Britain and France have already set precedents inasmuch as material similar to that from the *Machault* so far discovered in England has been dated to other periods through surmise and false comparison. The *Machault* ceramics are therefore of major importance in setting a marker particularly for the wares from the southwest of France and elsewhere for the mid-18th-century periods.

The problems of correlating the types from the *Machault*, particularly Types 2 and 3, the slip-decorated red-fabric ware and the undecorated, unglazed and partly

glazed red-fabric ware, had to be resolved scientifically. Dr. Traill's studies (see Appendix B) have shown that three major types occur and that there is a relationship in source between Type 2 and the red-fabric plates with "circles of dots" decoration and the white-slipped redware dishes with applied green colour decoration, both of which fall within the miscellaneous decorated and undecorated coarse earthenware category.

Type 1: Green-Glazed White-Fabric Ware

The green-glazed white-fabric ware, the most striking and singular type in the *Machault* coarse earthenware collection, can be attributed to La Chapelle des Pots (Charente-Maritime) in the Saintonge region of southwestern France. This attribution is borne out by the results of researches by Mr. R. G. Thomson of Southampton Museum. In the spring of 1973 the writer and Mr. Thomson visited the principal collections of ceramics in southwestern France. It was obvious that the green-glazed white-fabric ware and some of the other types discussed here originated in the village of La Chapelle des Pots. The village lies in an area with a history of potting extending back to the 1st century A.D. The whole village abounds with pottery sherds which can be examined freely and in quantity. With the exception of a few medieval examples, these sherds are all of 18th- or 19th-century date and dominant amongst them were the wares classed here as Type 1. These wares have been found as far afield as Southampton, Bristol, Exeter, and Jersey, Channel Islands.

Type 2: Slip-Decorated Red-Fabric Ware

The sources of the slip-decorated red-fabric ware are difficult to determine because the decorations of the wares have been so badly defaced by the burning the wares underwent onboard ship; however, Dr. Traill has shown that the mineralogical content of Type 2 wares is akin to that of the miscellaneous red-fabric plates with "circles of dots" decoration and white-slipped redware dishes with applied green colour decoration (see Appendix B). The red-fabric plates with "circles of dots" decoration cannot be provenanced with certainty, but similar wares recur in the south of France (and at the Fortress of Louisbourg) where dot decoration of this kind occurs as commonly as it does in southwestern France. The flanged bowls (Fig. 11) occur at the Fortress of Louisbourg and there are examples of groups of dots as the only type of decoration on some of these vessels. It is probable, therefore, that these are from that group and originate in the south of France. The decoration of the Type 2 vessels show "tree" patterns and rings enclosing dots. It also has a strong characteristic pattern, that of the central whorl.

The miscellaneous white-slipped redware dishes with applied green colour decoration have not yet been provenanced, but M. H. Morrison of Beauvais assures me that they are similar to wares found at Martin-camp, Sovrus, in northern France. The rim form is noticeably similar to other wares from that region.

Type 3: Undecorated, Unglazed and Partly Glazed Red-Fabric Ware

The vessels within the undecorated, unglazed and partly glazed red-fabric ware type have been shown to have the same mineralogical matrix.

The juxtaposition of the storage jar and the round-bottomed cooking pots in a similar fabric is useful as it can be shown that the latter originate in the south of France (comparative material was recovered at the Fortress of Louisbourg) and the matched fabric indicates that it is the source of the storage jar also. It is known that storage jars were made in Biot and Vallauris (Provence) although these vessels are of a different character in comparison with the one illustrated here.

Until the undecorated, unglazed red-fabric storage jars were recovered from the *Machault*, such vessels were always considered to come from the Iberian Peninsula although the writer has always thought this definition too narrow. It is known that in the 19th century red earthenware storage jars were imported from the Mediterranean, many containing train oil and linseed oil, and were commonly found decorating the outside of hardware stores in Great Britain. Although work has been done on the recognizable "Iberian" forms, other forms have not been dated to before, or possibly did not exist before, the middle of the 18th century.

Miscellaneous Decorated and Undecorated Coarse Earthenwares

Of the miscellaneous decorated coarse earthenware items not previously mentioned in the conclu-

sions, the marbled-ware bowl (Figs. 22e, f, 23) is of particular interest as such wares have previously been considered to be northern Italian in origin. As this vessel was complete, it was not possible to take a sample for thin-section analysis which might have resolved the identification of its source. However, the form of the vessel, especially the rim form, is typical of many vessels recognized as coming from southern France. This type of marbling, so common to northern Italy in earlier centuries, could occur in other regions and is indeed a common form of decoration on slipwares in Britain although the forms and styles of the British vessels are different. No marbling is found in the southwest of France, a fact repeated by many local archaeologists; however, such wares are found at potting sites near Marseilles, a principal supply port for the French colonies. Similar marbled vessels occur, together with a wide variety of wares, in one of the groups of vessels at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

The source of the fine brown-glazed red earthenware vessels is now known to be Liguria where they were produced in sufficient quantity to make them the common ware on the littoral of northern Italy and Provence in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Such vessels could have been shipped from Marseilles. Fragments of similar ware were amongst the large quantity of post-medieval material at Mount Orguël Castle, Jersey, Channel Islands, where the bulk of the ceramics appears to come from northwestern France and probably mostly from Normandy. This type is an important

one in the finds at the Fortress of Louisbourg and Fort Beauséjour.

The fragments of the cooking pot (Fig. 24i) represent the only vessel of this type recovered from the *Machault*. Such cooking pots were very common at Fort Beauséjour, the source of the pot from which this vessel is reconstructed in the illustration. The marked characteristics of fabric and glaze are clues to source, but it is the top-fixing indentation which is the best indication of the source of the vessel for it is commonplace on the late 18th- to 19th-century vessels from the area around Marseilles.

In conclusion, it would appear on the grounds of bulk alone (although this has not been measured) that the coarse earthenwares recovered from the *Machault* fall into two groups: those defined in Types 1 to 3 and those in the miscellaneous group. The relatively few vessels in the miscellaneous category are almost all illustrated as little else of value in that category exists. Many of the hollow-ware vessels have scratches on them and the inner rims of the brown and black dishes are marked where knives have cut the glaze. As these items are few and worn it is suggested that they were crew's goods.

Types 1, 2 and 3 are present in bulk and some were obviously in crates at the time the ship went down. These were probably all cargo. However, some examples of the "cargo" groups are only represented by singletons and these may have been crew's goods as well.

Appendix A. Microprobe Examination of Blackened Glaze on Earthenware from the *Machault*,
by R. H. Packwood.

A request was received from J.-P. Cloutier of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch to identify the nature of the blackening that had been found on the glazed earthenware recovered from the wreck of the *Machault*. The vessel analyzed was a large green-glazed earthenware bowl.

The appearance of the glaze on the bowl varies and can be categorized as an essentially clear green glaze, presumably unaffected; silvery black areas, and a rough matte black.

Representative specimens were taken from each of the three areas, mounted in epoxy and a polished cross-section prepared at about 45 degrees to the surface of the glazes.

Examination of the cross-sections under the optical microscope showed the reasons for the differences in the appearance of the glaze. The clear glaze areas were transparent and obviously undamaged; the silvery black areas were generally transparent with only a very thin layer of either discolouration or deposit on the surface of the glaze, and the matte-black areas were basically pitted and black throughout the glaze.

Spot analysis was performed on the matte-black glaze. By weight, it was found to contain large amounts of lead (40 per cent), sulphur (17 per cent) and silicon (15 per cent)

together with smaller quantities of copper (circa 1 per cent) and chlorine (circa 2 per cent).

By traversing the microprobe beam across the specimens it was found that sulphur was present throughout the matte-black area, but absent from the clear glaze and only detectable at the surface of the silvery black areas. By analyzing a second sample of the silvery black area with the surface of the specimen perpendicular to the microprobe beam, it could be estimated that the affected layer is of the order of 500 to 1,000 Angström units thick.

How the change in the glaze was effected is another question. The fire prior to the scuttling of the ship may have had sufficient sulphur content from pitch or gunpowder to have reacted with the glaze; 200 years in the estuary with appropriate bacteria may have caused it; or the effluent from the nearby pulp mill may have caused it.

Appendix B. Thin-Section Examination and X-Ray Fluorescence Analyses of Ceramic Sherds from the *Machault*,
by R. J. Traill.

Six coarse earthenware ceramic sherds recovered from the *Machault* were examined. The sherds, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, were primary examples of the ceramic categories into which K. J. Barton divided the coarse earthenwares from the *Machault*. Sherd No. 1 was from Barton's Type 1; sherd No. 2, from Type 2; sherds Nos. 3 and 4, from Type 3; sherd No. 6, from a red-fabric plate with "circles of dots" decoration (Miscellaneous No. 1), and sherd No. 7, from a white-slipped redware dish with applied green colour decoration (Miscellaneous No. 3).

Thin sections were prepared to show cross-sections of the sherds and these were examined under a petrographic microscope. All the sherds were found to have a simple mineral composition, consisting of angular fragments of quartz, with a small amount of feldspar and mica, in a fine-grained matrix of undetermined mineral composition. X-ray diffractometer powder patterns confirmed the simple mineralogy: sherd No. 1 (Type 1), major quartz, minor alumina; No. 2 (Type 2), major quartz, trace alumina and feldspar; No. 3 (Type 3), major quartz; No. 4 (Type 3), major quartz, trace alumina and feldspar; No. 6 (Misc. 1), major quartz, trace feldspar, and No. 7 (Misc. 3), major quartz, trace feldspar.

The textures observed in thin section fall into four categories.

Sherd No. 1

Very fine-grained matrix containing relatively few randomly oriented fragments of angular quartz. Most of the fragments are smaller than 0.02 mm. and only a few are larger than 0.05 mm.

Sherd No. 4

Contains abundant quartz fragments in a very fine-grained matrix. The fragments are well-sorted as to size and most fall within the 0.02 mm. to 0.01 mm. range. Many of the fragments are elongated and show a preferred orientation parallel to the surface of the sherd.

Sherd No. 3

Contains relatively few angular quartz fragments set in a fine-grained matrix. The fragments are very poorly sorted as to grain size and vary from less than 0.05 mm. to more than 0.4 mm. The fragments tend to be elongate and show some preferred orientation parallel to the surface of the sherd.

Sherds Nos. 2, 6 and 7

Characterized by abundant, poorly-sorted quartz fragments ranging in size from less than 0.01 mm. to more than 0.5 mm. The fragments do not show any preferred orientation.

Results of partial semi-quantitative X-ray fluorescence analyses of powdered examples of the six sherds, expressed as percentages of the oxides, are shown in Table 1. The silica/alumina values are of considerable interest as indicators of the composition of the raw materials and suggest three or four different

Table 1. Results of X-Ray Fluorescence Analyses

	Type 1 No. 1	Type 2 No. 2	Type 3		Misc. 1 No. 6	Misc. 3 No. 7
			No. 3	No. 4		
SiO ₂	66.0	75.0	71.0	67.0	77.0	74.0
Al ₂ O ₃	29.0	16.0	20.0	19.0	15.0	16.0
K ₂ O	1.6	1.6	1.9	2.4	1.7	1.9
CaO	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.6
TiO ₂	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.4	0.9	1.1
Fe ₂ O ₃	1.9	5.8	5.2	9.5	5.0	6.4
SiO ₂ /Al ₂ O ₃	2.3	4.7	3.4	3.5	5.2	4.6

Table 2. Results of Electron Probe Microanalyses of Matrix of Sherds Nos. 1 and 7 and Slip of Sherd No. 7

	Sherd No. 7 Matrix	Sherd No. 7 Slip	Sherd No. 1 Matrix
SiO ₂	70.2	64.4	62.7
Al ₂ O ₃	17.6	28.7	29.7
TiO ₂	1.5	1.1	1.0
FeO	6.0	3.2	2.2
MnO	0.0	0.0	0.0
MgO	0.8	0.6	0.6
CaO	0.5	0.5	0.3
Na ₂ O	0.7	0.4	0.7
K ₂ O	2.6	1.4	2.8
	99.9	100.1	100.0

source materials: sherd No. 1, low silica/alumina, 2:3; sherds Nos. 3 and 4, medium silica/alumina, 3:4 to 3.5; sherds Nos. 2 and 7, high silica/alumina, 4:6 to 4:7, and sherd No. 6, highest silica/alumina, 5:2.

Sherds Nos. 2 and 7 showed a common feature that was not present in the other sherds. Both of these sherds have had slip, a thin layer of fine-grained clay, applied to their inner surfaces before firing and glazing. The layer of slip is very uniform, 0.1 mm. to 0.15 mm. thick, and similar in appearance to the material of sherd No. 1. Table 2 shows the results of electron probe microanalyses, expressed as weight percentages, of the matrix of sherd No. 7, the slip of sherd No. 7, and the matrix of sherd No. 1. These analyses confirm the similarity in composition of the two fine-grained clay materials.

Appendix C. Supplementary Colour Descriptions of Coarse Earthenwares from the *Machault*, by Gérard Gusset.

To supplement the descriptions of the colours of the coarse earthenware studied by K. J. Barton, the colours of the fabrics and glazes of most of the ceramics discussed in his analysis have been described using the Munsell colour notation system (Munsell Color Company 1960).

All colour measurements were made under artificial neon cool white light.

Kiln firing conditions can cause the colour of the fabric surface to differ from that of the fabric interior and therefore both measurements have been listed where possible. The glaze measurements given are the apparent glaze colours (as influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the fabric colour showing through the glaze) and may vary from what it would have been if a glaze chip alone had been examined. In a number of cases, the colour of a fabric surface, fabric interior or glaze was not measurable because the glaze completely covered the vessel; a clean sample of the interior of the fabric was not available; the vessel was not glazed, or stained glaze prevented measurement of the original glaze colour.

Green-Glazed White-Fabric Ware (Type 1)

Largest size jugs: glaze from 5GY6/8 to 2.5YR4/4, fabric surface typically 7.5YR7/4.

Second-largest size jugs: glaze from 2.5GY6/8 to 5GY4/6.

Third-largest size jugs: glaze typically 7.5GY5/6 and 5GY5/6, fabric surface 10YR8/4 and 2.5Y8/4.

Smallest-size jug: fabric surface from 10YR7/4 to 7.5Y7/6, fabric interior typically 5Y7/2.

Flagons: glaze from 2.5GY6 to 2.5GY4/4, typically 2.5GY5/6; fabric interior typically 5Y8/2.

Barbers' bowls: glaze typically 2.5GY5/6.

Porringer: glaze (interior) 7.5Y8/6, glaze (exterior) from 7.5GY6/6 to 7.5GY4/6, fabric interior 5Y8/1.

Cream pans: glaze typically 2.5GY5/6, fabric surface 10YR7/4, fabric interior typically 5Y8/2, 5Y8/1.

Skillets: glaze typically 2.5GY5/6, fabric surface 10YR7/4, fabric interior typically 5Y8/2, 5Y8/1.

Large lipped bowls with rims grooved on top: glaze typically 2.5GY5/6, fabric surface from 2.5Y8/4 to 2.5Y7/4, fabric interior 2.5Y8/2.

Large lipped bowls with egg-shaped rim sections: glaze typically 5Y6/8 and 5Y5/8.

Small bowls: glaze typically 5Y6/8 and 5Y5/8, fabric surface typically 10YR7/4, fabric interior typically 5Y7/2.

Lids of tripod everted-rim cooking pots: glaze typically 5GY5/6, fabric surface typically 10YR7/4, fabric interior not measurable, off-white, very light.

References Cited

- Tripod everted-rim cooking pots: glaze 2.5GY5/6, fabric surface 7.5YR6/6, fabric interior not measurable, variable buff.
- Vertical-handled large storage jars: glaze typically 10Y4/4, fabric surface 7.5YR6/6, fabric interior 10YR7/6.
- Smaller vertical-handled storage jars: glaze from 2.5GY5/4 to 2.5GY4/4, fabric interior 10YR8/2.
- Small storage jars: glaze typically 5GY5/8, fabric surface 5Y8/2, fabric interior 5Y8/2.
- Horizontal handle of a storage jar: glaze 5GY4/6, fabric surface 10YR7/4.
- Slip-Decorated Red-Fabric Ware (Type 2)**
- Flanged bowls: fabric surface typically 5YR6/8.
- Flanged dishes: fabric surface typically 5YR6/8 but darkens to 10R4/8.
- Flanged plates: fabric surface typically 5YR6/8 and 5YR5/6.
- Undecorated, Unglazed and Partly Glazed Red-Fabric Ware (Type 3)**
- Largest cooking pots: fabric surface 7.5YR6/6 average, fabric interior 10YR7/4 to 5YR7/6 (irregular).
- Small cooking pots: fabric surface 2.5YR/8 to 7.5YR5/8.
- Storage jars: not measurable.
- Storage jar rim: fabric surface typically 2.5YR6/6.
- Miscellaneous Decorated and Undecorated Coarse Earthenwares**
- Red-fabric plates with "circles of dots" decoration: fabric surface typically 2.5YR5/6.
- Marbled-slip red-fabric bowl: glaze 5YR5/8 fabric interior 2.5YR6/8.
- White-slipped redware dishes with applied green colour decoration: glaze from 2.5Y8/4 to 5Y8/4, fabric surface typically 5Y5/6.
- Fine brown-glazed red earthenware lids with black trailed slip decoration: glaze typically 2.5YR3/4, fabric interior 5YR6/6.
- Fine brown-glazed red earthenware plates with black trailed slip decoration: glaze typically 2.5YR3/4, fabric interior 5YR6/6.
- Fine brown-glazed red earthenware porringer handle with black trailed slip decoration: not measurable.
- Undecorated coarse earthenware cooking pot: fabric surface 10YR7/2, fabric interior 5YR8/4.

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La céramique du Beauvaisis.



The Cochrane Ranch

by William Naftel

Canadian Historic Sites
Lieux historiques canadiens
No. 16

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Abstract

The Cochrane ranch at Big Hill (now Cochrane, Alberta) and its successor and corporate cousin, the British American ranch, telescoped into a few years the various pioneer stages of large-scale Canadian ranching. Beginning in 1881 as the favoured child of a government that saw it as a means of profitably occupying a vacant area, the Cochrane ranch fell victim within two years to overconfidence, hard winters and mismanagement, and its cattle operations were moved to a more equable climate south of Fort MacLeod. The Big Hill site was transferred to the British American Rancho Company for sheep raising yet by 1888 this ranch was the victim of management and market problems and the rush of settlement to the West. The Cochrane ranch became successful on its southern range, but after the death of its founder was sold in 1905. Cochrane's efforts had brought other ranches into the empty land and demonstrated to settlers that the Red River Valley was not the only attractive area of the Northwest.

Submitted for publication 1973,
by William Naftel, National Historic
Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa.

Sommaire

La Politique nationale du Parti conservateur qui a permis à sir John A. Macdonald de reprendre le pouvoir en 1878 favorisait l'établissement d'un chemin de fer transcontinental et la colonisation des vastes étendues du Nord-Ouest qui avaient été achetées à la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson en 1869. Construire le chemin de fer du Canadien Pacifique était une question comparative simple de contrats et de budgets, mais persuader des colons d'aller s'établir au pied des montagnes Rocheuses pourrait prendre plus de temps. À cause de la philosophie expansionniste des Américains, l'administration conservatrice croyait que l'établissement de l'industrie de l'élevage dans l'Ouest, qui avait été couronnée de succès aux États-Unis, assurerait le maintien de la souveraineté canadienne dans le Nord-Ouest du pays pendant que la colonisation poursuivrait sa marche vers l'Ouest. L'élevage encouragerait aussi l'industrie canadienne des bestiaux et assurerait, pour le Canadien Pacifique, du transport de marchandises sur de longs parcours.

Le premier grand aventurier de l'industrie canadienne de l'élevage fut le sénateur Matthew Henry Cochrane, un important membre conservateur de la communauté financière de Montréal et un éleveur de bestiaux très respecté. Donnant suite aux pressions exercées par Cochrane, on adopta des mesures législatives qui favorisaient les grandes entreprises d'élevage à forte prédominance de capital. En 1881, Cochrane et ses amis actionnaires furent les premiers à établir une

entreprise d'élevage, la Cochrane Rancho Company, à Big Hill, endroit de l'Alberta où se trouve maintenant la ville de Cochrane.

Certaines erreurs humaines et deux hivers très rudes décidèrent les éleveurs à transporter leur ranch dans un climat plus doux au sud du fort MacLeod, en 1883. L'emplacement du ranch de Big Hill, dont les affermage avaient été réduits modifiés, fut pris en main par la British American Rancho Company, une entreprise affiliée à la Cochrane Rancho. Cette compagnie s'intéressait principalement à l'élevage des moutons, mais elle a dû abandonner ses projets en 1888 à cause des loups, des incendies dans les prairies, des durs hivers, des problèmes de gestion, de la colonisation grandissante de la région et aussi à cause de la concurrence de l'Australie. Les avoirs et une partie des affermage de la société British American ont été vendus à la Bow River Horse Ranch, compagnie appartenant à des actionnaires britanniques. Le ranch Cochrane devint très prospère une fois rendu plus au sud, mais la mort de Co-

chrane en 1903 et les pressions des colons récemment arrivés entraînèrent la décision de vendre le ranch en 1905.

Même si les ranchs Cochrane et British American ont eu leur part de désastres naturels et de mauvaise gestion, on ne peut pas les considérer comme des échecs. La réputation de Cochrane, les leçons qui ont été tirées de son expérience et les lois favorables qu'il a contribué à faire adopter ont amené un grand nombre de gens à pratiquer l'élevage et à venir s'établir dans le Nord-Ouest, alors inhabité. Leur activité fut cependant assez brève, car aussitôt que l'industrie de l'élevage fut mis sur pied et qu'on eût démontré que la vallée de la Red River n'était pas la seule région intéressante du Nord-Ouest, les pressions exercées par les colons occasionnèrent le lotissement des grands ranchs en vue de fournir des terres aux nouveaux habitants.

Introduction

What is now the southwestern corner of the province of Alberta is grazing country. The foothill grazing lands form the boundary between the Alberta plateau and the Canadian Cordillera, or Rocky Mountains. The terrain is rough, split by draws and coulees carrying the streams that originate in the mountains. The elevation of the ranges varies considerably from 3,000 feet in the east to 4,500 feet in the west.

It is no coincidence that the grazing area coincides with the effective limits of the area subject to Chinook winds. These warm, dry winter winds are a phenomenon the extent of whose geographic penetration defines the grazing corridor as much as the availability of superb grasses and good water. The effect of the winds is such that the snow is melted, the grass is revealed and cattle can (in theory) range as freely in winter as in summer. Sometimes, however, the Chinooks do not come.

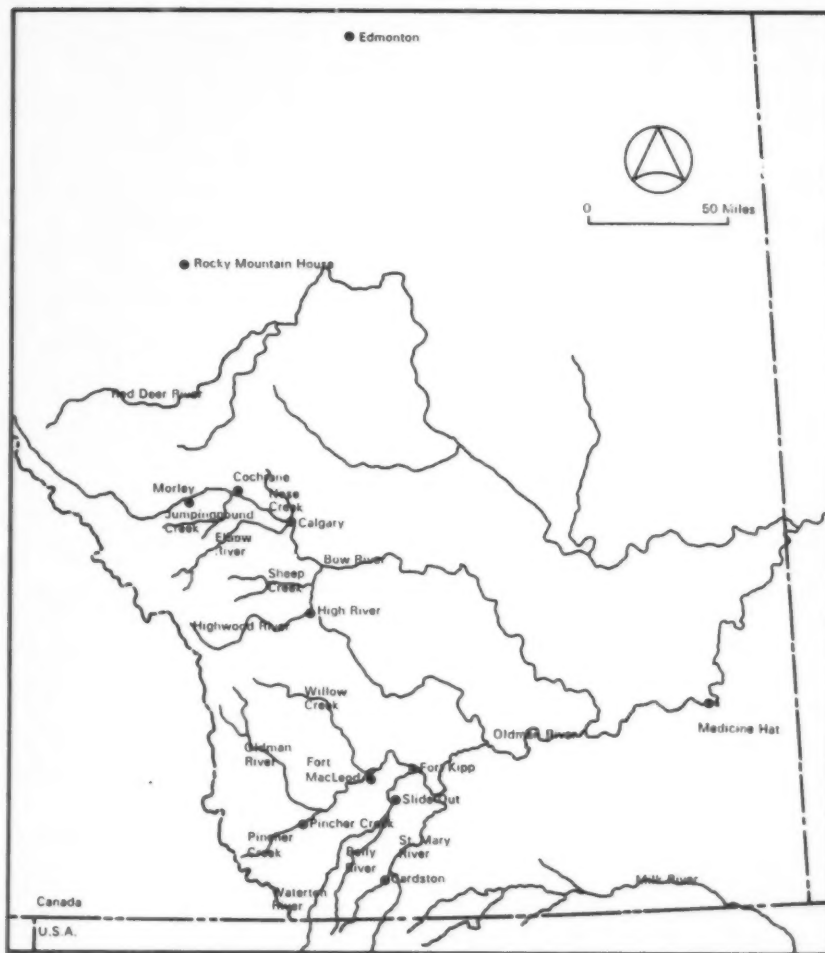
Along with the Chinooks was another fortunate natural coincidence — the rich native grasses which thrive in the summer cure on the stalk, producing a natural hay. "They thus preserve all their nutritious qualities, and made excellent feed for the winter, a fact which is proved by the fat condition of all stock wintered in that country."¹ The attractive qualities of the grasses result from the soil minerals which produce a plant rich in proteins and the dry winds of late summer that dessicate them while they are still on the stalk. The types of grasses found vary according to altitude and

rainfall. On the lower levels are blue gama, spear grass, western wheat grass, June grass and Sand-berk's blue grass. Porcupine grasses and wheat grasses begin to predominate as the true prairie is approached and on the higher levels, foothill species such as the fescue, oat grasses, and again, wheat grasses, predominate.

The region most suitable for grazing, at least in the eyes of experienced farmers from the East, was considered to run "from the boundary line north to Morleyville, including the belt of land extending from twenty-five to thirty miles east of the Rocky Mountains."²

It is a lush and beautiful country — green rolling hills covered in knee-high grasses and watered by abundant streams, rivers and springs which burst forth from the slopes in profusion. Presiding over all, the frosted peaks of the Rockies glitter in the sun of a clear day, their serried ranks disappearing over the distant horizons to the north and south. Small wonder the early observers rhapsodized over the district, but these men were but passing travellers whose explorations and observations were limited to the summer months. The solid Scotsmen who manned the Hudson's Bay Company forts throughout the Northwest learned early that the foothill Indians did not want them. The Blackfoot, the fiercest of all the Plains nations, refused to allow traders into their territory and the

1 Map of southern Alberta, showing sites mentioned in the text. (Map by S. Epps.)



Hudson's Bay Company had to be content with posts on the fringes, such as at Rocky Mountain House and Fort Edmonton. Accordingly, there was little of the careful observation and long experience by fur traders that paved the way for the settler in other corners of the Northwest. There was no one to temper the largely justifiable enthusiasm of the itinerant observers with words of caution, no one to note that on the rare occasions when the Chinooks did not blow, winter in the Bow Valley could be as long and as hard as in the Red River Valley.

The suitability of the foothills for cattle raising had been known since the first detachments of the North-West Mounted Police penetrated the area in 1874 and attempts were made at that time to develop a ranching industry. The first appearance of cattle on the foothill ranges came shortly after the establishment of the Mounted Police at Fort MacLeod gave some assurance of law and order. Hoping to acquire government contracts, Joe McFarland and Henry Olsen arrived from Montana in 1875 with a herd of dairy cattle and located a few miles downriver from the fort. In the fall of 1874 a man named Shaw drove 500 beef cattle across the mountains from British Columbia where ranching had flourished in the interior since gold-rush days. Although en route to Fort Edmonton, Shaw paused at the Methodist mission at Morley on the Bow River where he remained at the urging of the Reverend John McDougall, not just over the winter but for an entire year, the cattle surviving in good health.³

Other herds were brought in from Montana in the 1870s with some success so far as the welfare of the cattle was concerned. It would appear that these pioneer cattlemen were less fortunate financially for three main reasons: lack of markets, Indian raids and lack of official encouragement.

The major part of the market was the North-West Mounted Police detachments and contracts for their supply were held by the active and enterprising firm of I.G. Baker and Company of Fort Benton, Montana. While this firm was willing to buy all the beef locally available, the growth potential of the market was clearly limited, particularly in view of the announced intention of the government to cut, rather than increase, the strength of the force. There was no Canadian market nearer than Georgian Bay and the American ranching industry was unlikely to allow the passage of Canadian cattle across the border unchallenged. No other markets existed.

Another limiting factor began to develop toward the close of the decade. The decline of the buffalo was initially greeted with enthusiasm by ranchers for cattle were attracted to the migrating herds and disappeared more completely than any rustler could hide them. With the disappearance of the buffalo, however, a new problem arose. With their staple food gone, the Plains Indians for the first time were faced

with large-scale starvation and such cattle as were on the prairies offered a temptation too often impossible to resist. In fact, it would appear that there was not as much cattle stealing as the often desperate condition of the Indians might have warranted, but the stockmen tended to place the blame for any dead or missing cattle on the Indians. Whether the responsibility lay with the Indians or not, losses were high enough to be discouraging and played a part in inhibiting the early development of the industry.

Associated with this factor was the attitude of the Mounted Police which was not particularly favourable to the cattlemen, being founded on the entirely justifiable belief that the Alberta country was not yet ready for settlement. As late as 1882 the commissioner of the force was to write concerning the Blackfoot tribes whose territory this was: *This powerful tribe . . . has but recently come into contact with white men, and their experience of them is almost altogether of the Police Force. They are as yet perfect savages, able to mount at least 1000 warriors, exceptionally well armed and equipped.*⁴

By 1882 other observers were more impressed by the decline of Indian power, but undoubtedly the description would have rung true for the pre-1880 period. The influence of the Mounted Police with the Indians rested on prestige rather than strength, hence they were unwilling to precipitate disputes over stolen cattle or to treat them as some

stockmen, with American precedent in mind, suggested. The police were generally of the opinion that those who brought cattle into a frontier area must be willing to accept the consequent losses.⁵ Accordingly, by 1879 the first attempt to introduce ranching to the Northwest had petered out with the return to the United States of a number of stockmen who had come up from the ranges of Montana to make a new start.⁶

The National Policy of the Conservative Party which led to Sir John A. Macdonald's return to power in 1878 had in it more than the creation of an eastern manufacturing complex. Its most important components for the future were those which promoted a transcontinental railway and the settlement of the Northwest, both designed to secure for the young Dominion the vast, empty territories acquired in 1869 from the Hudson's Bay Company. It was easy to build the railway: simply supply enough capital and it would be done. To fill the West with settlers, however, was another matter. Thousands of people must be persuaded to move to a new and quite unknown land. Such a vast migration would, under the best circumstances, take time; meanwhile the rolling prairies lay empty, inhabited

only by dwindling herds of buffalo, some few thousand Plains Indians and a scattering of itinerant and discontented Métis.

It lay empty, but not unnoticed. Apart from the desire to colonize characteristic of 19th-century western nations, there lurked below the southern horizon the dark shadow of Manifest Destiny. By the end of the 1870s, American expansionism was more subtle than it had been even a decade earlier; nonetheless, twisting the Lion's tail was still a permanent feature of Fourth of July rhetoric. Much of the oratory was simply that — rhetoric — but in the American Midwest the message was still eagerly digested by election audiences. There the available supply of new homesteads was beginning to run out, but the desire for land was as strong as ever. To the north lay the virgin prairies of the Canadian Northwest and it was easy to translate simple land hunger into a desire to extend to this empty territory the benefits of a governmental system which made full use of such resources. While at this point it was fairly clear that the United States government would not resort to military means to extend its domains, it was obvious that considerable pressures were being exerted which made it equally certain that, short of war, that government would do all it could to obtain the Canadian West. It was, therefore, imperative that the Northwest

be occupied by Canadians, on the assumption that possession is nine points of the law.

Once the contract to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway had been let and the line built, settlement, it was expected, would eventually take care of itself. Even with the best of luck, however, this would take some time and in the interim it was deemed necessary to take some action to hold the western end of the prairie as settlement moved westward along the railway line. A western ranching industry, eminently successful in the United States, might provide the means to occupy a potentially vulnerable and certainly empty region.

A more immediate reason for the encouragement of such a programme also existed. In line with the aims of the National Policy there was no reason why the Canadian livestock industry, as well as the manufacturing industry, should not be encouraged. The more of the domestic demand that could be supplied the better and, as eastern breeders were showing, a profitable market in England awaited those prepared to supply a high quality product.

Another important consideration was the need to develop through traffic on the CPR in order to justify the enormous construction costs. This was particularly true of the expensive sections north of Lake Superior where local traffic would be nonexistent. A thriving cattle trade between the Rocky Mountains and the Montreal stockyards would prove a valuable addition to the balance sheet.

That beef was the mainstay of the foothills economy within two years

of the collapse in 1879 of the initial ranching attempts there is directly attributable to the actions of the new Conservative administration. First, on 21 October 1880, a contract was signed with a Montreal consortium for the construction of the CPR. Secondly, the government had, as a means of encouraging settlement, begun to press on in earnest with the surveys of the Northwest and thirdly, was now insisting that the Indians settle themselves on their designated reserves.

All three of these objectives were attained with a surprising degree of efficiency (in view of the concurrent mishandling of the Métis problem). The completion of the CPR well within its allotted term is a familiar story. The surveys were models of precision and accuracy that have dismayed generations of lawyers who have elsewhere found inaccurate surveys sources of endless, profitable litigation. Through a combination of tact and firmness the Indians had been nearly all settled on reserves by 1881–82 where, even during the 1885 Rebellion, they remained quiet with but few exceptions.

With the railway under contract and the prospect of a reliable system of land tenure free from harassment by Indians, the Northwest lay open for exploitation.

In the context of the times, however, to most people the former Hudson's Bay Company territories, with the possible exception of the Red River settlement, were a remote and inaccessible region peopled

by savage Indians and rebellious Métis. The parliamentary debates at the time of the granting of the CPR contract reveal that a large and influential segment of Canadian opinion saw the Northwest as an asset to be sure, but one whose exploitation might best be left to future generations who could more easily bear the cost. Even the many convinced exponents of the virtues of the new territories believed that development hinged on the success of a Pacific railway which could take years to complete.

Nevertheless, in 1881 the Cochrane Ranch Company Limited, inspired by Senator Matthew Henry Cochrane, industrialist and cattle-breeder, made Big Hill, now Cochrane, Alberta, the centre of Canada's first major venture into the ranching industry. With the hearty encouragement of the Dominion government, Cochrane and his fellow investors sank tens of thousands of dollars into the ranch, but after two years of overconfidence, hard winters and managerial rigidity, the ranch was forced to move its cattle further south to a more equable climate closer to the border, leaving the Big Hill site to the British American Ranch Company, a corporate cousin dealing in horses and sheep.

One might well question what significance an apparent failure might have, but in fact its impact was considerable, centring on its position as the pioneer large-scale ranching operation in the Canadian

West and on the personality of its founder, Senator Cochrane. His decision to take the first step was an influential one. In exercising his widely respected judgement, Cochrane gave practical support to the opening of the West by influencing fellow members of the eastern financial community to invest in the Cochrane ranch and in the grazing country. (Although his fellow investors obtained their own leases at about the same time as Cochrane, most of their ranches were not operating for a year or two.) A waiting crowd watched his errors, saw the CPR become a reality, and at the first opportunity launched a score of other ranches. In so doing, however, they had to fit themselves into the ranching legislation hammered out between Cochrane and the Department of the Interior to accommodate the requirements of the Cochrane Ranch Company. It was under this legislation, lasting scarcely a decade, that the first wave of organized settlement was introduced into the far West.

The following two chapters will summarize government grazing, import and quarantine regulations affecting the Canadian ranching industry and discuss the capitalists involved in the Cochrane ranch. Subsequent chapters will trace the establishment and decline of the Cochrane ranch at Big Hill, its transfer to more southern ranges, and the activities of the Cochrane ranch's successor and corporate cousin at Big Hill, the British American Ranch Company.

The Government Presence

Grazing Regulations

The 1872 Dominion Lands Act, the first of many during the process of settling the West, contained no provision for ranching as a separate industry, but only as an adjunct to the operations of the bona fide homesteader. No security of tenure existed for all the land was open for homesteading and a grazing lease might be cancelled at any time on six months' notice.¹ Obviously at the time these provisions were drawn up there was no idea of encouraging any form of settlement other than that based on the quarter-section homestead.

By 1876, however, the suitability of parts of the Northwest for stock raising, as distinct from farming, was becoming apparent and an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act in that year made provision for the granting of leases on a large scale to non-residents of the territories. The land so leased was not necessarily to be opened to settlement, but if it were required for that purpose by the minister of the Interior, the lease might be cancelled on two years' notice. While provisions were much more attractive to the potential stock raiser, the grazing corridor was at that time unsurveyed and unsettled, and it would

appear that few of the early stockmen bothered with the formality of a lease nor were they given much encouragement to do so.

In 1881 this easy-going approach disappeared. With the railway just over the horizon and the example of the unregulated American frontier just across the border, it was decided to impose law on the frontier before, not after, the white men arrived. Cochrane's influence on the legislation is detailed in "The Cochrane Lease" and "Influence" below. Accordingly, in May 1881 J. S. Dennis, deputy minister of the Interior, drew up a confidential memorandum in which he outlined his recommendations for the policy to be followed with respect to ranching in the Northwest. From this memorandum the government drew the inspiration for the policy toward ranching and grazing lands that it instituted in the spring of 1881 and followed, with decreasing fidelity, for approximately three years. For a start, the Dominion Lands Act was modified to place this important matter more directly under the control of the cabinet as befitted an arm of the National Policy. Previously, the disposal of grazing leases had been an internal matter for the Department of the Interior.²

The details of the regulations were published by order in council of 20 May 1881, authorizing a

form of draft lease to which important amendments were made the following December.³

The most important clause in the draft lease from the point of view of the stockman was that which authorized leases for a term of 21 years. Though still subject to cancellation on two years' notice "in the Public Interest," it gave ranchers at least a moral commitment from the government for a much longer term. In return for the substantial capital investment required, they could feel assured of a long enough period of occupation to recoup their investment plus make a profit.

As other clauses of the lease make clear, the government was interested in attracting large companies with capital rather than encouraging the small independent rancher. Up to 100,000 acres might be acquired in one lease at a nominal rental of one cent per acre and while the lessee was required to place one head of stock on every ten acres, he was given three years to accomplish it.

Additional important provisions of the May order in council, and of Dennis's recommendations, included the right to purchase a percentage of the leasehold as a home farm and corral, and the proposal to dispose of the leases by auction. Both were abandoned in December. The latter was by then a dead issue, virtually all the leases having been promised well beforehand.

Though various revisions were made in the terms of the lease over the next few years, the most important were those which culminated

in the virtual abandonment by 1896 of the 1881 leasing system. The first leases granted, under which the Cochrane ranch was held, provided, as has been noted, that the lease or a portion of it could only be cancelled after two years' notice. Any agricultural settler must wait that length of time provided he was able to convince the Department of the Interior that he should be allowed to settle there or unless he received the permission of the leaseholder to settle. Within but a few years the pressure from homesteaders wishing to settle on the leases, however unsuited for the purpose, persuaded the department to make concessions. The turning point in the government's attitude came in 1885 when the Department of the Interior determined that the ranching industry must stand on its own and so raised the rent on the leased lands. In addition, the lease form was so amended that leases granted thenceforth were to be "open to homestead and pre-emption entry, or to be purchased from the Government at the cash price of not less than \$2.50 per acre upon application being made therefor" without the consent of the lessee being required.⁴ This did not affect the original, and most desirable, leases granted under the terms of 1881 which remained unchanged, but it was a sign of the times.

With the completion of the railway, the pressure became intense and in 1889 an entirely new lease form was introduced which left

leases granted thenceforth wide open for settlers. While it did not immediately supersede the existing leases, the implication was that the new lease form would eventually be applied retroactively. Such a step might have been foreseen, for the minister of the Interior from 1888 to 1892 was Edgar Dewdney, former lieutenant governor of the North-West Territories and a firm believer in the desirability of rapid settlement. It ought not, therefore, to have come as a surprise when his department contacted the holders of the old leases, notifying them of the government's intention to cancel their leases and replace them with a new form. In a letter dated 21 September 1891, the ranchers were invited to send a delegation to Ottawa to discuss the proposal with the minister. The order in council which followed the meeting in October 1892⁵ was essentially that outlined in the circular letter.

Under this new system, all leased grazing lands were opened for homestead applications on the even sections and for railway grants on the odd sections (the old lease had specified only the CPR). However, the old leases were allowed to remain in force for another four years until 31 January 1896. Further, the ranchers were to be permitted to purchase up to ten per cent of their leasehold at \$2.00 per acre, a sum later reduced by the new minister, T. M. Daly, to \$1.25 per acre. From the objections to the new policy, which centred around the cost of purchasing the land,

it is apparent that most ranchers were resigned to the disappearance of the days of ranching on leased land. Most seem to have accepted the fact that if they carried on, it would be with what they were able to buy; hence it was important that the land be as cheap as possible.⁶

These new regulations, coming only a decade after the inauguration of the ranching industry, marked the effective end of officially encouraged large-scale operation on cheap grazing lands. Henceforth, if he depended on leased lands, the stockman could never be certain of his grazing acreage and therefore the number of cattle he might stock from one year to the next. Those who had by 1896 proved their economic viability through sound management bought as much land as possible so as to be free of incessant wrangles with squatters and hence with the Department of the Interior, and were able to continue on a grand scale for almost a generation longer. Those which had been under-capitalized and/or poorly managed did not long survive the shock, and their leases were either homesteaded or taken over in bits and pieces by small ranchers or farmers running a few head of stock on the side. In 1893, 159 lessees occupied 1,579,285 acres; four years later in 1897, 375 lessees

occupied 248,984 acres.⁷ Plainly, the day of the 100,000-acre spread was over.

Government regulation effectively created the Canadian ranching industry and as effectively destroyed it as originally conceived. There were, however, other less traumatic but nonetheless important administrative developments during the short period of the ranching industry's first flowering. As noted, 1885 was the turning point and some of the easy conditions which had prevailed since 1881 in order to encourage capital investment were now tightened up. It was in this spirit that the regulation was revised that governed the placing of cattle on the leased land. Thenceforth one-third of the required number of cattle must be placed on the land in each of the three years whereas hitherto the lessee had been allowed to stock the lease at leisure at any time during the three-year period, a practice which had led to much abuse.⁸ At the same time the rental was doubled from one cent per acre to two cents per acre. The amount might seem nominal, but there was much soul-searching and bitter complaint, not least from the CPR which feared the potential effect on the through cattle trade.

Government regulation was also used occasionally to smooth the path for the ranchers. So it was in 1884 when, in order to avoid the calamitous range wars which disfigured the history of the western

United States, the cattle ranchers and the sheep ranchers were entirely separated. Acting on petitions received from the South Western Stock Association of Fort MacLeod and other interested parties, the deputy minister of the Interior investigated the problem during his western tour that year. The result came in October with the publication of an order restricting sheep grazing to an area north of the line of the Highwood River and its north fork, the Bow River, and thence to the eastern boundary of the District of Alberta. South of this line sheep grazing was forbidden.⁹

The government also tried, by juggling the leasing regulations, to settle the vexing question of settler versus rancher. In April 1887 it was ruled that from then on all new leases would be open to public competition in order to obviate the entirely justified criticism that favouritism had hitherto played a part in their award. At the same time, in an effort to forestall those homesteaders who were going into small-scale ranching simply by appropriating the necessary grazing land from the large leases, the minister was given authority to issue grazing leases of up to four sections contiguous with an applicant's homestead.¹⁰

The amendments mentioned above do not represent all those made to the leasing regulations, but they do reflect the main trends in official thought. Regrettably,

during the 15-year life of the large-scale ranching industry, there were five ministers of the Interior, Sir John A. Macdonald (1878-83), Sir David Lewis Macpherson (1883-85), Thomas White (1885-88), Edgar Dewdney (1888-92) and Thomas Mayne Daly (1892-96). With each minister there was, if not a definite policy change which required new regulations, a change in emphasis, especially as it involved the rancher-settler relationship. This in turn resulted in different interpretations of existing regulations. Hence so far as the ranchers were concerned, despite the existence of their leases which set forth the obligations of both parties quite clearly, the ground was continually shifting beneath their feet. Often it must have seemed to the rancher that the Department of the Interior was as uncertain a factor as the climate or the market.

Import and Quarantine Regulations

Two other departments of government were involved in the regulation of the ranching environment: customs, through rules affecting the import of cattle, and agriculture, through quarantine restrictions.

Initially, as a means of encouraging the nascent ranching industry, lessees, but not homesteaders, were permitted to import cattle duty-free on condition that they were not

sold for three years. This was of vital importance as the geographical isolation of the grazing country before the completion of the railway meant that its only source of breeding stock in the necessary volume was the United States. After five years, however, the government felt that the ranchers had sufficient time to stock their acreage and ought as well to be able to supply any new ranches which might thereafter be started. Therefore as of 1 September 1886 the privilege of free entry was cancelled and the 20-per-cent duty re-imposed.¹¹ Far from being upset, Canadian ranchers were not displeased. According to Moreton Frewen, an Englishman with extensive American ranching interests and brother-in-law of Lady Randolph Churchill, the re-imposition of the duty represented an attempt "to lock up this vast district by a handful of sociable ranchmen settled in one small corner."¹²

There is much truth in this accusation, but not so much because the Alberta rancher feared the competition of the market-place as Frewen contended; rather because the American grazing system had demonstrated the effects of over-grazing. Under that system ranchers were simply charged a rate per head of cattle to graze in common ranges reserved for that purpose and the result had been serious overstocking. The consequent destruction of the American grasslands led many of the ranchers, of whom Frewen was one, to look to the well-preserved grasslands to the north and Alberta cattlemen were

anxious to prevent a flood of cattle from overwhelming the Northwest.

The motivating force behind Canada's quarantine regulations was Dr. Duncan McEachran who, in 1875, following two particularly virulent outbreaks of horse influenza in Britain and on the continent in 1872 and 1875, came to the conclusion that unless something was done, Canada, which had remained remarkably free of disease, would very soon be infected by the same plagues as were bedeviling other nations. Three principal diseases were shattering many fine herds — pleuro-pneumonia, foot-and-mouth disease and cattle plague (rinderpest). All three were highly contagious, and while the science of medicine was only beginning to comprehend the mysteries of communicable diseases, it was clear that isolation was one means of preventing their spread. With this in mind and with an acute political sense which he did not always show in his dealings with others, McEachran enlisted the support of three of Canada's principal breeders and importers of stock: Senator Matthew Henry Cochrane, the Honourable George Brown, former Liberal leader and proprietor of Bow Park Farm in western Ontario, and Senator David Christie, Speaker of the Senate and president of the Ontario Board of Agriculture.¹³

Despite these high-powered representatives, the minister of agriculture, the Honourable Luc Letellier de St. Just, could not be persuaded of the gravity of the situation. Undaunted, the four men approached

the prime minister, Alexander Mackenzie, with the result that McEachran was asked to institute a system for the protection of Canadian livestock. This was the sort of task that McEachran relished and he set about establishing a quarantine system with a will. Initially facilities were limited and legislation even more so; although an 1869 Act controlled the spread of contagious diseases, it contained no provision for an appointment such as McEachran's. So nervous was the Department of Agriculture about setting off some kind of panic that he was not even given the authority of an order in council and was instructed to limit his efforts to the use of moral suasion when dealing with shippers and importers.

This was an impossible situation and not surprisingly it did not last long. It was soon apparent that if the programme was to be effective and accepted by importers, a proper organization would have to be set up. Accordingly, during 1876 a quarantine station was established at Fort No. 3 in Lévis, Quebec, staff was supplied, and to a remarkable degree the Mackenzie government and its successors showed an unusual willingness to support McEachran and those who succeeded him in the application of what were frequently highly unpopular regulations. In 1884 the quarantine service was reorganized, with McEachran as chief veterinary

inspector, a post he held until 1902 when he was succeeded by J. G. Rutherford.

The main thrust behind the move to protect Canadian livestock was not so much a concern for the health of animals as it was a desire to protect the developing overseas markets for Canadian livestock. Since the middle years of the century, governments as well as private breeders had been investing a good deal of money in the importation of fine thoroughbred horses, cattle, sheep and swine. This general attempt to raise the quality of Canadian stock had been quite successful and with the rapid improvement in transportation by both rail and steamer, profitable export markets were opening up for Canadian producers.

By the 1870s, however, the rapid spread of diseases as a side effect of the improvement in transportation was alarming importers and exporters in most countries and there was increasing talk of restrictions on the shipping of animals. Canada was one of the first to implement a modern quarantine scheme, but it was not until January 1878, when the Duke of Richmond introduced a bill in the House of Lords to control contagious diseases in animals, that stockmen took fright. The "Richmond Bill" proposed to exclude from Britain live cattle from countries where specified diseases existed or else, as would have been the case with Canada, to place certain countries on a "schedule" which permitted animals to be landed live but required that they

be slaughtered within ten days if healthy, or immediately if disease were detected in the herd. The bill became law, but as a result of vigorous protest, Canada was exempted from the schedule. The Act came into effect 1 January 1879, but with the proviso that the schedule would be reapplied if it became apparent that disease was prevalent in Canadian herds.

Keeping Canada off the schedule would not be an easy task for, although it was an era of developing imperial sentiment, such ties were not so strong as those of economic self-interest. The British agriculturalist, who had faced ruin after the repeal of the Corn Laws opened the country to cheap imported grain, saw the entire process being repeated with an influx of imported meat which offered the consumer meat of the same quality as British beef for a price about 25 per cent less than that of British beef. Although the doctrine of free trade was still sacrosanct, the judicious application of quarantine laws, for the good of the country of course, might well be enough to reduce the effect of open competition.

It was, therefore, this threat which prompted Canada to institute its own stiff quarantine rules, under "The Animal Contagious Diseases Act" of 1879, that would ensure that Canadian livestock herds remained healthy and off the British schedule. These rules authorized close supervision which was shortly

implemented over stock being exported from Canada. This was extended to cover not only the health of animals, but, through regulation of steamships, their comfort as well so stock might arrive at its destination in as good condition as possible.¹⁴

The 1879 Act provided the basis for Canadian quarantine policy into the 20th century. Yet despite the effort which went into ensuring that it would be a success, what McEachran tactfully described as a "blunder" on the part of the official veterinary advisor to the British government led to the scheduling of Canadian cattle in March 1892 and it was 30 years before the British could be persuaded to remove it.¹⁵ Nevertheless, although this probably lowered the price for Canadian livestock landed in Britain, the trade continued to expand up to 1912, after which time the withdrawal of grazing leases for conversion to agricultural land began to have a telling effect. At the same time, shortly after the British scheduling was made permanent in 1896, dependence on the British market was reduced by the removal of quarantine barriers between the United States and Canada.¹⁶

From its small beginnings as an *ad hoc* operation of which McEachran was the sole employee, the quarantine service had, by the end of the century, developed into a considerable operation. By

that time it employed a pathologist, an assistant pathologist, 26 permanent inspectors and 209 supplementary inspectors authorized to carry out inspections if necessary. There were nine quarantine stations between Halifax and Victoria and innumerable inspection stations, as well as an experimental station and bacteriological department.¹⁷ The quarantine service continued to evolve and expand its operations. For example, in order to maintain the standards of Canadian herds, campaigns were undertaken to eliminate bovine tuberculosis, foot-and-mouth disease, mange, glanders, anthrax and the various other diseases which threatened the health not only of animals but of man. By World War I, Canadian herds were on a par with herds of any country.

In the Northwest, quarantine regulations began to have an effect on the ranchers about 1884. New restrictions brought in during that year prompted charges that McEachran was using his position as chief veterinary inspector to enhance his investments in the Cochran and Walrond ranches as new ranchers would now find it somewhat more difficult to get stock. The initial reason for the restrictions, however, was real enough. An outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia had occurred among cattle in Illinois and the East whence it was feared that the disease had been transmitted through breeding cattle to the western states, the principal source of basic stock for the Northwest ranches.¹⁸ Accordingly it was ordered that American cattle might only be

brought into the country at certain specified points, of which Fort MacLeod was one. At these points of entry, the cattle were to be inspected by an authorized veterinary surgeon who was to declare them free of any suspicion of disease or refuse them entry. The importer was required to produce a certificate of origin for his animals and pay a fee to defray the expenses of the inspection.¹⁹ Three years later, in July 1887, the quarantine regulations were made even stiffer with the introduction of a 90-day quarantine period. For this purpose an area roughly two townships deep stretching the length of the frontier was reserved as grazing land for quarantined cattle. For the District of Alberta, this quarantine ground was territory defined by the curve of the main branch of the Milk River from the point where it entered the North-West Territory to the point at which it crossed the frontier, the whole to be known as the "MacLeod Quarantine Station."²⁰

The *Macleod Gazette* was particularly hostile to the quarantine, stating bluntly that it was but a means of enhancing McEachran's ranching interests. Thomas White, the minister of the Interior, rejected that charge indignantly. He observed that a disease-free cattle industry in Canada added £3 to £4 to the value of every head of cattle exported to England thus giving a substantial difference to the profit margin. To give up the quarantine system, he declared, would be little short of madness.²¹

The Capitalists

The Investment Climate

With the stimulus of active official encouragement, the stage had been set for the inauguration of a ranching industry by the beginning of the 1880s, but it frequently takes more than official interest to initiate a new venture. What was needed was something more intangible to create public enthusiasm and this was achieved as cattle ranching reached the proportions of a minor fad among investors in Europe and North America at precisely this time.

The reasons for this enthusiasm were varied. Some of it was due to the glowing reports of North-West Mounted Police and travellers, official and otherwise, who had passed through the grazing country and who by word of mouth or in print had transmitted their enthusiasm to others. They expounded upon the rich, nutritious grasses, the bracing climate, the clear ever-flowing streams and the warm Chinooks. Lachlan Kennedy, government surveyor of the Bow River District in 1881, wrote

*As regards the country extending from Belly River, near Fort MacLeod, to Bow River, at Fort Calgary, I do not think too much can be said in praise of its adaptability for stock-raising . . . provided the winters prove as favourable as they are represented to be.*¹

The interest of entrepreneurs was further heightened by rising beef

prices, and with the prospect of profit before them, they began to eye the grasslands of the West. In the western United States the ranching industry had reached maturity during the post-Civil War period. There the cattle industry had had its beginnings in Texas in the years immediately following the Civil War; discharged soldiers found that they could round up longhorns in the southern part of that state, paying no more than \$3 or \$4 a head, and drive them north to the upper Mississippi valley where they sold for \$40 a head. Scarcely had this market been tapped than another opened up in Britain where prices for beef had soared due to the ravages of disease among herds in Britain and on the continent. Between 1877 and 1879 the export of beef on the hoof from the United States increased almost threefold.²

Indicative of the often speculative nature of this interest was the appearance of pamphlets such as that by General James F. Brisbin, *Beef Bonanza: or How to Get Rich on the Plains* (1881).³ In Canada, just on the threshold of western development, a representative of a more responsible but nonetheless glowingly optimistic type of propaganda is Professor John Macoun's, *Manitoba and the Great North-West*. In a contribution to this volume Alexander Begg, himself to become a leaseholder in the Northwest and an enthusiastic advocate of the development of that whole country, informed the reader that a small investment of \$5,000 in cattle would

grow to \$55,000 in as little as five years.⁴ *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, a work which had a tremendous effect on contemporary public opinion, devoted two chapters to the subject of stock raising with particular reference to the Bow River district.

None of this escaped the notice of the British investor and in the late 1870s the new cattle trade was talked about everywhere; in Parliament, over the tea tables of the aristocracy and in the counting houses. Few with spare capital to invest could fail to note that near riots had occurred in Liverpool and Dublin when the populace attempted to purchase the cheap imported meat. The Earl of Airlie, chairman of the Scottish American Mortgage Company, toured the American West in 1881 and on his return reported that it was not uncommon for a cattle breeder to secure 80 to 100 per cent on his capital.⁵ Further encouragement came from a more august source. The Marquis of Lorne, following his vice-regal tour of the Northwest in the summer of 1881, remarked that if he had his life to live over again he would be a rancher in the Canadian Northwest, "God's Country" he called it. This remark achieved wide circulation and proved to be an excellent advertisement for the new country and the new industry.⁶

The Principals

One of the side effects of the Industrial Revolution was the creation of large amounts of spare



capital, the result of a greatly increased money supply. The time was not yet ripe for its more equitable distribution among the various levels of society to be a matter for serious debate and it was concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of entrepreneurs who had done well in the new age and who now sought means of putting their surplus funds to good use. In the case of the Cochrane ranch, its investors were representative of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant capitalist group in the Province of Quebec. They were all self-made men and with one exception, Louis Huet Massue, were either Scots-Canadian Montrealers or of Yankee stock from the Eastern Townships. The investors were connected by political or board room contacts, not only among themselves, but also, it is to be suspected, with much of the rest of the eastern capital being sent out to the Northwest. The ensuing paragraphs briefly outline the backgrounds of those men whom it has been possible to identify as shareholders in the Cochrane Ranche Company or its successor, the British American Ranche Company, on the Bow River site at Big Hill.

The Honourable M. H. Cochrane

The Honourable Matthew Henry Cochrane was one of those products of the 19th century whom Horatio Alger immortalized: the self-made man, the farm boy who went to the

city and by dint of hard work achieved wealth and influence. He was born on 11 November 1824 in Compton, Lower Canada, the son of James Cochrane, an immigrant from Northern Ireland. Until the age of 18, Matthew Henry lived on his father's farm but in 1841 he departed for Boston to make his fortune. With commendable determination he did just that in the leather and shoe business. In 1864 he returned to Canada where he engaged in the same business in Montreal in partnership with Samuel G. Smith under the corporate title of Smith and Cochrane. Following Smith's death in 1868, Cochrane joined forces in 1873 with Charles Cassils, a native of Dumbartonshire, Scotland, to create the firm of Cochrane, Cassils and Company. By the mid-1880s, this firm was employing some 300 men and women and had an annual business of about \$500,000.⁷ Cochrane's other businesses developed considerably over the years and he eventually held numerous influential positions. In addition to his interests in Cochrane, Cassils and Company, he was president of Bigelow Company and the Tolley Manufacturing Company; a director of the Canada Meat and Produce Company, the Canada Agricultural Insurance Company, the Waterloo and Magog Railway Company (which became part of the CPR in 1888), and the Eastern Townships Bank, and a trustee of both the Montreal High School and Bishop's College School, Lennoxville.⁸ His political leanings were made apparent by his appointment to the Senate on 17 October 1872 by the Macdonald

administration. He does not, however, appear to have been active in politics unless in a "back room" capacity, though he was certainly acquainted with the leading Conservative politicians of his era.

Despite his business interests, Cochrane's preoccupation was with agriculture; specifically, with animal husbandry. One is tempted to speculate that the manufacture of boots and shoes and his directorships were simply the vehicles by which he was enabled to earn sufficient money to indulge his first love. In 1864 he returned to Compton, the scene of his boyhood, and purchased a large farm adjoining the original homestead. The farm, "Hillhurst," eventually contained about 1,000 acres of "largely rolling land, and almost in one block, with brooks and springs, furnishing an abundance of good water."⁹ Having thus acquired suitable land, Cochrane set about the purchase and breeding of stock in such a manner as was to make him famous among his contemporaries in Britain and the United States and earn him such honours at home as a seat on the Quebec Council of Agriculture.

Up to this point, interest in scientific breeding had been sporadic in Canada East and indeed in much of British North America. Shortly after he acquired Hillhurst, Cochrane began to purchase good stock from sources in Canada West. He soon recognized his need for an expert stockman and this need was met in 1867 with the arrival at Hillhurst of Simon Beattie. Beattie was a

native of Dumfriesshire and nephew of James Beattie of Newbie House, one of Scotland's leading breeders. He had emigrated to Canada West in 1854, bringing with him a near priceless knowledge of fine cattle and a keen sense of showmanship. Employed by the Miller family of Markham, pioneer cattle breeders, he very shortly began to make his mark in the Upper Canadian show ring and as early as 1855 could state confidently: "I would 'na carry a second or third i' ma pooch."¹⁰

In 1867 Cochrane and Beattie launched into the big-time cattle world with a major purchase of Shorthorns. This breed was in high favour in the mid-19th century and within its ranks were two competing strains. One line was descended from the experiments of Thomas Booth and his sons who continued to control the best blood lines of their strain from the family establishment at Warlaby, Yorkshire. The other line had been developed by Thomas Bates and by the 1860s its standard-bearers were in the custody of Sir Robert Gunter of Weatherbie Grange, York, England. Rivalry between proponents of the two strains was keen and heated debates were common wherever breeders gathered. Both Bates and Booth stock soon suffered from the effects of this popularity and before too many years passed declined from the effects of inbreeding, but when Cochrane entered the market he did so just before the cattle boom of the 1870s hit. In this boom Shorthorns played a leading part as

wealthy speculators and cattle fanciers battled in the auction rooms for the finest specimens of Bates and Booth blood.

Cochrane's first major purchase was the cow "Rosedale," called by some the "Queen of Cows," who had no peer in the British prize rings.¹¹ At the same time, he bought the bull "Baron Booth of Lancaster," of whom it is said he "marked the turning point in the evolution of the ideal animal sought by a majority of breeders of Shorthorn cattle throughout the Western States."¹² The two animals were acknowledged as being among the finest cattle of their day and created a sensation wherever they were exhibited.

The following year Cochrane imported the cow "Duchess 97th" from Sir Robert Gunter, paying 1,000 guineas, at that time the highest price ever paid for a Shorthorn cow. This was only the beginning and over the next decade or so Cochrane speculated in the most fashionable pedigreed strains. The combination of his own and Simon Beattie's judgement, and the courage to invest large sums of money in the best stock paid off handsomely. At the beginning of the 1880s he paid Sir Robert Gunter the almost incredible sum of \$30,000 for the "10th Duchess of Airdrie" and three or four of her daughters, but within six years he had sold \$200,000 worth of descendants from these cows.¹³

As a measure of ability, not only in acquiring fine stock but also in disposing of it in the most advantageous fashion, the sale arranged by Cochrane at Bowness on Lake Windermere, Cumberland, was a

classic. The auction, held 4 September 1877, caused tremendous excitement in the British livestock world because the senator had shrewdly offered some of the finest of the Bates and Booth strains. This tactic had the desired effect of attracting the leading breeders of both lines, generating considerable publicity, and gaining record prices for the stock.

*The Isis of Wetherby and the Orisis of Warlaby were raised, through the zeal of a Canadian, to a parallel of niches in the temple of fortune. The offerings of their votaries redoubled, and the Short-Horn world fell down and worshipped the golden calves which Cochrane, the king of importers, set up.*¹⁴

The effect of the senator's importations was equally impressive in the United States and the blood lines introduced by him played a leading, and for him a profitable, part in the rebuilding of the American beef industry following the shattering effects of the Civil War.

Clearly, one of the reasons for Cochrane's involvement in the livestock world was the fact that for a man with his ability and capital it was a remunerative business indeed and the cattle he bought and sold were not pets. Nevertheless, profit was not his sole motivation. *M. H. Cochrane had been a business man and was not afraid to enter into a large deal; but he fairly*

*revelled in buying and selling live-stock, and perhaps got more pleasure out of seeing the cattle he imported win prizes for the people he sold them to than he did out of any other business he carried on.*¹⁵

Cochrane's stock-breeding interests continued throughout the remainder of his life and included investments in the American ranching industry in which he made handsome profits.¹⁶ Over the 40 years or so during which he was engaged in this activity, it is estimated that he handled some 2,500 head of pedigreed Shorthorns and over 1,000 head each of Herefords and Aberdeen Angus cattle.¹⁷ In later years he branched out into thoroughbred horses and in this proved equally successful. One of his objectives in entering the business of ranching in the Northwest was the establishment of "mass produced" beef of high quality. In this he was eminently successful, the Cochrane ranch being noted for its fine stock, particularly after its transfer to the southern range.

The senator's private life was, by all accounts, exemplary. While in Massachusetts he met and in 1849 married Miss Cynthia Maria Whitney, a direct descendant of Eli Whitney. They had nine children, three boys and six girls. The eldest was James Arthur, followed by William Edward and then by Ernest Balch. All three sons were involved with the ranching operation in some

fashion: James as a director, though his real interests lay in Hillhurst, and William and Ernest on the actual site. The girls, Ermina, Alice, Eleanor, Mabel, Lillian and Bertha, had little to do with ranching, but Eleanor married E. A. Baynes of Montreal and for a time lived in Calgary where Baynes was involved, not very successfully, in ranching both on his own and his father-in-law's accounts. (Between September 1883 and June 1884, Baynes also set himself up as a barrister and notary, then became general manager of the Mount Royal Rancho Company.¹⁸) All but the two youngest girls married and of these two, Bertha joined the Anglican order of the Society of Saint John the Divine. From James's marriage in 1887 to Mary Louise Grant, daughter of Sir James Grant, is descended the present and only direct line of descent, neither William nor Ernest having any family.

The Cochranes lived at Hillhurst despite the senator's many business and political interests in Montreal and Ottawa, and it was a busy place for the fame of the Cochrane herd drew many visitors. Mrs. Cochrane, who was a quiet, devout lady, disliked entertaining and so devoted her time to housewifely duties and raising her large family. Social affairs were left in the hands of Mrs. Charlotte Roby, the senator's widowed sister.

Cochrane would appear to have had connections with the CPR syndicate in Montreal, so it is not surprising that when the George

Stevens-Donald Smith group received the contract to build the transcontinental railway, he was either persuaded by them, or was quite ready on his own, to investigate cattle ranching prospects. Though other associates took part in the enterprise, Cochrane was the principal shareholder and its heart and soul. He negotiated leases and regulations with the government, imported cattle, hired staff and, most importantly, supplied both money and enthusiasm during the difficult years of heavy losses. After his death the Cochrane ranch lost its driving force. Although still a profitable operation, it was sold in 1905, its cattle dispersed and its range given over to cultivation.

Cochrane died on 12 August 1903. It would have pleased him to know that he was remembered for his contribution to agriculture. The *Montreal Gazette* eulogized, "He was the pioneer in that field of industry and everything that has since been achieved was largely due to him." "He will be longest remembered by his efforts to improve the standard of Canadian cattle. In this his enterprise and energy was most marked, and the effects may be seen on all sides."¹⁹ It is a measure of the esteem in which he was held that the Grand Trunk Railway attached a special car to the morning

train on the day of his funeral in Compton to accommodate those who wished to attend.

James Cochrane

If, as is sometimes suggested, a father directs his son into the career he would have preferred for himself, then the senator's eldest son James clearly reflects this in his preference for agriculture over business. James was born in 1853 at Lowell, Massachusetts, and followed the normal educational pattern until he reached college age. He then took a degree in agriculture at Cornell University, New York, and followed this up with postgraduate work at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, England. Early in the 1880s he took over the management of Hillhurst, leaving the senator free to develop his ranching interests. Although he was a director of the Cochrane ranch, visited it frequently and took some part in the management of its affairs, his main interest centred on Hillhurst. During his lifetime James served as president of the Eastern Townships Agricultural Association and as mayor of Compton, Quebec. He was also a director of Bishop's College School and a delegate to the Anglican Synod. After the senator's death, he seems to have withdrawn from both farming and ranching, selling both Hillhurst and the ranch. He moved with his family to Lennoxville, then in the 1920s to Westmount, where he died in 1933.²⁰

Dr. Duncan McEachran

Closely associated with the establishment and the first few years of operation of the Cochrane Ranch

Company was Dr. Duncan McEachran who, as mentioned above, was one of the leading veterinarians of the day. The exact history of his relationship with the Cochrane ranch becomes rather cloudy after a few years. Officially he was resident general manager of the company and he and the senator both invested equally to the extent of 1,000 shares each, but he spent little time on the ranch, the actual day-to-day operations being left to the local manager. In 1883, after he became manager and vice-president of Sir John Walrond's operation, the Walrond ranch, he gave up his official connection with the Cochrane ranch and by 1885 the number of shares he held in the latter organization had dropped to 100.²¹ In 1884 he became, in addition to his other interests, Dominion veterinarian, so it would not be surprising if he withdrew from active participation in the affairs of the Cochrane Ranch Company. It is even less surprising in view of a history of disagreements between McEachran and other members of the company.

McEachran was born in Scotland in 1841 and received his education there, graduating in 1862 from the Royal Dick Veterinary College, Edinburgh.²² He immediately emigrated to Canada and settled in Woodstock, Ontario. He was, at this

early period, involved in the foundation of the Ontario Veterinary College, but a difference of opinion with Andrew Smith, the founder, cut short his participation. In 1865 he moved to Montreal where, with the assistance of Sir William Dawson, principal of McGill, and Dr. George Campbell, dean of medicine at McGill, he organized the Montreal Veterinary College. In 1875 he built, at his own expense, a college building and at about the same time entered into close co-operation with Dr. (later Sir) William Osler of the McGill Medical School. This association was of tremendous significance in view of the contributions to research in animal diseases which were to arise from it. In 1889 the two men were successful in having the Montreal Veterinary College incorporated into McGill University as the "Faculty of Comparative Medicine and Veterinary Science" and as such it functioned until 1903 when it was forced to close for financial reasons. The closure was the result of McEachran's rigid adherence to the highest possible standards which, while making it perhaps the finest veterinary school of its day, also ensured small attendance in an era of unlicensed schools when anybody could, and did, open a "veterinary college." Studies at the college were integrated with those of the McGill Faculty of Medicine on the assumption that human and animal medicine were but two branches of the same art. Students of the two disciplines took the same classes and wrote the same examinations, where



relevant. With an extra year of study, students in either field could qualify for a degree in both professions.

Of even greater long-term significance for the stockman was McEachran's position as initiator of Canada's quarantine system.

McEachran's principal failing was a lack of tact and diplomacy, making it difficult for him to deal with those of lesser ability than himself. Nor did he shrink from controversy of which there was no lack in the sensitive post of chief veterinary inspector. Note has already been made of the allegations of conflict of interest which were made over the institution of stiff quarantine rules in 1884 and into this sort of fray he entered with gusto. It is therefore a measure of his recognized ability in a partisan age that his services were retained by the Macdonald administration in 1878 and in turn by the Laurier administration in 1896. He retired in 1902 and died at his home in Ormstown, Eastern Townships, on 24 October 1924.

James Walker

Another leading participant in the venture was its first local manager, James Walker, described prosaically in the charter of incorporation as a farmer from Galt, Ontario. He was in fact one of the formative influences in the early development of the Northwest, serving with the North-West Mounted Police from its formation until he joined the Cochrane Ranche Company in 1881. Firm



to the point of rigidity, fair and energetic, he was able to win the confidence of the Indians and was one of those men instrumental in establishing the reputation of the North-West Mounted Police among them.

Born in 1846 in Carleton Place, Ontario, Walker devoted much of his youthful energy to the militia and saw service against the Fenians in 1866 and 1870. He was appointed sub-inspector in the North-West Mounted Police at its inception in 1873. In 1881 he retired from the force with the rank of superintendent to take the position of manager of the Cochrane Ranch Company, but two years of stock losses, part of which were due to his strict adherence to inappropriate directives from the eastern directors, persuaded him that this was not his field. On retiring, his financial investment in the ranch company was redeemed by the acquisition of the company saw-mill, whose ownership launched him on a prosperous career in lumbering, ranching and real estate. As one of the original inhabitants of Calgary and as a continuing resident, he gradually assumed the mantle of "Grand Old Man" of the City of Calgary, dying in 1936 full of age and honour.²³

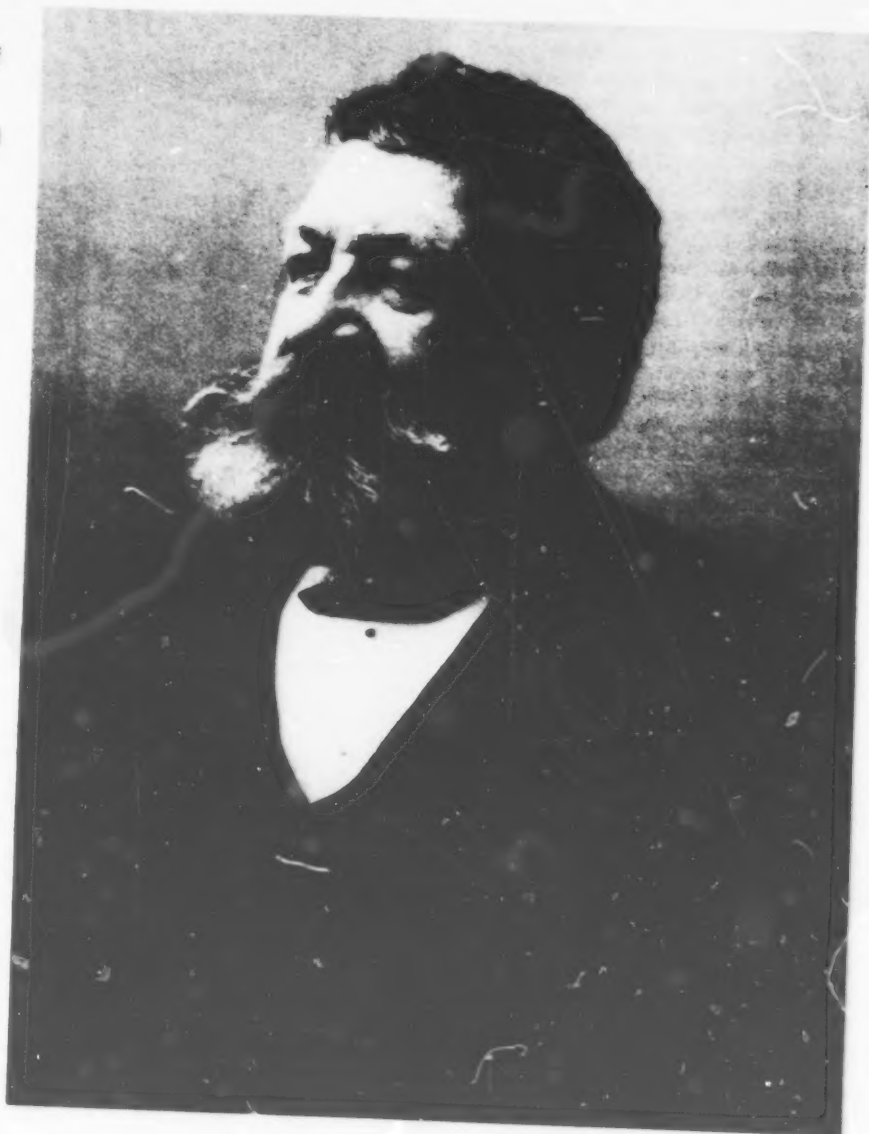
John Milne Browning

John Milne Browning of Longueuil, Quebec, was the business manager of the company and one of Quebec's leading estate agents. He had for years managed the holdings of the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, including the seigneurie of Beauharnois, and in 1881 was still the agent as well as one of the proprietors of

that property. His interests in agriculture were extensive. He had begun farming about 1863, was one of the original appointees on the Quebec Council of Agriculture on which Senator Cochrane also served and was for some years its president. He served as business manager for the ranch company until his departure in the spring of 1888 for British Columbia where he undertook the management of the affairs of a real estate syndicate in which the CPR had interests.²⁴ He was succeeded as business manager of the ranch by the firm of P. S. Ross and Sons, a concern which still is active in the management consultant field.

The Honourable A. W. Ogilvie

Though not all were directors of the ranch company, other leading Montreal merchants took an interest in this new western venture or in its subsequent off-shoot, the British American Rancho Company. Principal among these was Alexander Walker Ogilvie who in 1852 had gone into the flour-milling business. Two years later he founded the milling firm of A. W. Ogilvie and Company which pioneered the use of the wheat grown in the Northwest. Of even greater significance, the firm introduced into Canada the "Hungarian process" of milling that made it possible for mills to handle the vast quantities of grain being produced as a result of the introduction of farm machinery and the exploitation of the prairie wheat lands. He retired in 1874 and devoted his life to politics though he



retained many of his business interests. A Conservative, he began as a Montreal alderman and graduated to the legislative assembly where he sat from 1867 to 1878 with an interregnum from 1871 to 1875. His business interests were wide: president, Western Loan and Trust Company; vice-president, Montreal Loan and Mortgage Company, Sun Life Insurance Company of Canada, and Dominion Burglary and Guarantee Company, and director, Federal Telephone Company. His services to business and the Conservative Party were recognized in 1881 when he was appointed to the Senate.²⁵

Charles Cassils

Charles Cassils, born in Scotland, was a member of the firm of Cochrane, Cassils and Company. A leading member of the Montreal business community, he was involved with or a director of Carnegie Steel Corporation, Dominion Transport Company, Bell Telephone Company, Wire and Cable Company and the Windsor Hotel Company. Outside the business world he was at various times president of the Saint Andrew's Society, a governor of the Montreal General Hospital and the Alexander Hospital, and president





of the Montreal Philharmonic Society. He was, in addition, a Conservative and a Presbyterian. In 1876 he married Ermina Maria Cochrane, the senator's daughter.²⁶

William Cassils

A second member of the Cassils family, William, an elder brother of Charles, was equally representative of the Montreal business community. He was heavily involved in transport and communications including the presidency of the Canada Central Railway, the Dominion Transport Company, and the Federal Telephone Company. He had also at one point been involved in the manufacture of "hoop skirts and fancy goods" as a member of the firm of Cassils and Cameron.²⁷

Other Capitalists

William Ewing, a shareholder, was a member of the firm of Ewing Brothers, seed merchants and florists, and importers of garden, farm and flower seeds.²⁸

William Lawrence was probably connected with the firm of Perry Davis and Son and Lawrence, dealers in wholesale proprietary medicines and toilet goods.

The merchant class was further represented by Hugh Mackay of Mackay Brothers, wholesale dry goods, just a few doors down McGill Street from Ewing Brothers.²⁹

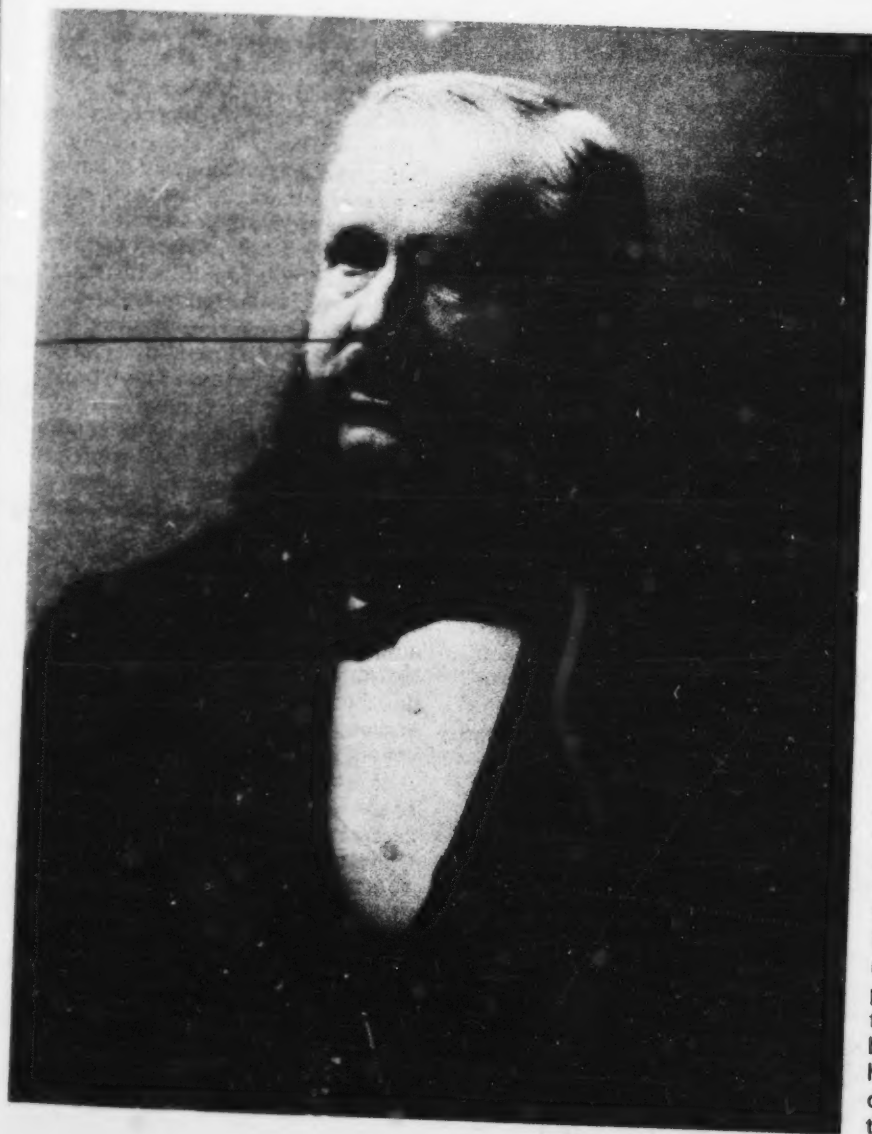
A later shareholder, and by 1885 a director, was the Honourable (later

Sir) George A. Drummond, manufacturer, financier, Conservative senator, vice-president (later president) of the Bank of Montreal, and a prominent figure in Canadian economic life. Drummond had a further qualification which would make him eligible for membership in this select group. Like McEachran and the Cassils, he was a Scottish immigrant, arriving in Canada in 1854. He was actively involved in the affairs of the Cochrane Ranche Company as early as March 1884 and probably earlier.³⁰

A late shareholder in the Cochrane Ranche Company was Edward Towle Brooks, Conservative member of Parliament for Sherbrooke from 1872 until 1882, when he was appointed judge of the Superior Court of the District of St. Francis. A participant with Cochrane in the ranching movement from the beginning via the Eastern Townships Ranche Company (of which more later), he had as well all the proper connections: solicitor for the Eastern Townships Bank, vice-president of the International Railway and of the Waterloo and Magog Railway, president of the Sherbrooke Rifle Association, the Fish and Game Protection Society and the Ploughman's Association, and trustee of Bishop's College School, Lennoxville. In lieu of a Montreal-Scots background he represented the other option, the New England-Eastern Townships inheritance, and he received his college education (BA and MA) at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire.³¹

Louis Huet Massue was also a latecomer among the shareholders. He was the seigneur of Trinité and





St. Michel, a farmer at Varennes, president of the Quebec Council of Agriculture, director of the Provident Mutual Association of Canada and Conservative member of Parliament for Richelieu, 1878-87.³² Massue's French-Canadian background made him an odd man out among the other shareholders, but his qualifications fitted the requirements exactly and evidently proved adequate.

One name which appears in an 1885 list of shareholders is that of James Gibb. He may indeed have been very early involved with the company as a "Mr. Gibb" is noted as one of the initial investors by Dr. McGregor of the Marquis of Lorne's party. Precise identification of this shareholder is, however, difficult. If the McGregor reference is to the James Gibb of 1885, he was not a member of Parliament or senator as there were none of that name at that date. He may have been James Duncan Gibb, prominent in the firm of Gibb and Company, Merchant Tailors and Haberdashers, an old established Montreal firm dating from 1775. There was also a James Robertson Gibb, advocate, who lived in Montreal from 1880 to 1885. On the other hand, the Honourable T. N. Gibbs, cabinet minister and senator, is among those promised leases in May 1881 and though he lived in Oshawa, he was born in Terrebonne, Quebec, and held numerous directorships. His death in 1883 removes him from the field after that date,³³ but shares may have remained in the family.

There was at least one other prominent investor who, although he

does not at first fit into the Montreal-Eastern Townships commercial-political clique, does have a valid *carte d'entrée*. This was John Philip Wiser, Liberal MP for Grenville South. His community of interest with Cochrane becomes obvious once his background and business affiliations are known. An American by birth, he had come to Canada in 1857 to manage Egert and Averell's distillery at Prescott. In 1862 he bought out his employers, setting up J. P. Wiser and Sons, Ltd., (which company still prospers) and built it into the third-ranking distillery in Canada. Having ensured his financial well-being, he now began, like Cochrane, to indulge what must surely have been his personal preference, breeding quality livestock. In Wiser's case, his business and personal interests dovetailed to a remarkable degree. He was the president of the Prescott Elevator Company which supplied grain for the J. P. Wiser and Sons distillery, the mash from which fattened a thousand head of cattle a year on his stock farm outside Prescott. These cattle were then shipped to the Montreal Stockyards Company, of which he was a director, and from thence no doubt transported out to ocean steamships via the Montreal Lighterage Company, of which he was also a director. He was also, in 1880, a member of the Ontario

Agricultural Commission. Although an Ontario resident, he was well inside the orbit of the Montreal financial community.

Wiser's first love was evidently horses for the farm itself was named "Rysdyke" in honour of a prize stallion for which he had paid \$10,000. His Hambletonian trotters were among the finest in Canada.³⁴

Thus far it is apparent that Wiser and Cochrane had much in common, but Wiser's connections with the ranching industry were even closer and were eventually to make the Cochrane operations seem insignificant. In the 1880s he became president of the Dominion Cattle Company in which Cochrane was also involved and which operated on 1.75 million acres in the Texas panhandle. Privately, he owned two other ranches in Kansas where stock was fattened for the Kansas City and Chicago market.³⁵

It has not been possible to clarify Wiser's exact connection with the Cochrane Ranch Company. He and the senator worked closely to obtain adjoining leases and as late as May 1881 his name is among those virtually promised a lease,³⁶ but for some as yet unknown reason the association here progressed no further.

The possibility also exists that Major General Thomas Bland Strange was an early shareholder. Strange was an ex-imperial officer, founder and first commander of the 1st Garrison of Canadian Artillery, one of the permanent units of the Canadian Army established to replace imperial troops withdrawn in 1871, and he was to command

the Alberta Field Force in 1885 during the rebellion of that year. In 1881 he left military life and established a ranch, the Military Colonization Company.³⁷ The supposition that he may have had shares in the Cochrane Ranch Company is based on a remark made by him to Sir John A. Macdonald in a letter of March 1882. Strange states that he will shortly be going up to his lease with the senator's son. In closing he adds, "I have an interest in the Cochrane Ranch Company."³⁸ This slim evidence is inserted here principally because the general is an historic figure in his own right and any possibility of his connection with the Cochrane ranch is worth noting. If there were any substance to this it did not last long, for Cochrane's initial resistance to sheep grazing and his successful lobby against it which resulted in the banning of sheep ran directly counter to Strange's plans. As a result, relationships between the two were cool and any connection would have been short-lived.

It is worth remarking, as evidence of the closeness of the Montreal coterie of investors, that Mackay, Ogilvie and Lawrence all resided at 1160 Dorchester Street, just east of Atwater. At that time this was an

area of large estates and fashionable homes, including that of Donald Smith, one of the builders of the CPR who lived at 1157 Dorchester, directly opposite.³⁹

This list can scarcely be said to be a comprehensive one of all investors, company officers or shareholders for no such record has survived. It has been compiled from chance references in letters, diaries and government files and this has obvious limitations. It is nevertheless evident that the Montreal business community did not limit their efforts to control the economy of the Northwest to such major enterprises as banks and railways, but actively promoted small-scale activities as well, an observation born out by a glance at issues of the *Canada Gazette* for the early years of the 1880s which contain petitions for Letters Patent of Incorporation. The number of letters involving enterprises in the Northwest indicates a very considerable interest in the economic potential of that area; the large proportion of the new companies based in either Montreal or Toronto reflects the longstanding rivalry between those two centres for economic control of the Northwest.

Foundation

Incorporation

On May 1881 the Cochrane Rancho Company was incorporated by Letters Patent

*for the purpose of the breeding and rearing of cattle, horses, mules, sheep and swine in the Northwest Territories, dealing and trading in them or any of them, throughout the Dominion; and of shipping the same to foreign countries and of acquiring and holding the property required therefore.*¹

The company was capitalized at \$500,000 divided into 5,000 shares of \$100 each. At incorporation \$270,000 worth of stock had been subscribed of which ten per cent was paid up. The ownership of the shares was divided as follows: Senator Cochrane, 1,000 shares; McEachran, 1,000 shares; James Cochrane, 500 shares; James Walker, 100 shares and J. M. Browning, 100 shares.²

Reaching this stage had meant a busy winter for Cochrane and his associates, particularly McEachran who was taking a leading part in the affairs of the company. First there was the organization of the company, which meant setting up arrangements for the on-site facilities and haggling with the Department of the Interior over the terms of the lease. In February, leaving the winding up of these

matters to McEachran, Cochrane left for England to purchase the purebred stock.³

The Cochrane Lease

The first recorded approach the senator made to obtain a grazing lease was a letter written to J. S. Dennis, deputy minister of the Interior, dated 26 November 1880.⁴ In it Cochrane expressed his hope that, in view of the number of applications for leases, he would be favoured in the selection of lands in the Bow River district. It is evident from the general tone that Cochrane and Dennis had discussed the matter previously. This was followed on 17 December by a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald which evidently constituted a more formal application. Accompanied by maps, the letter outlined in some detail the plans for stock raising in the Northwest, plans which, amplified and modified by a further letter of 10 February, constituted an impressive package. The entire proposal involved an investment of half a million dollars in breeding horses, sheep and cattle. The stated objects of the company were to replace the American outfits which to date had

supplied the Canadian government's beef requirements in the Northwest; to enable incoming settlers to purchase stock at a reasonable price, and to build up a profitable overseas export trade.⁵

So far as the arrangements respecting the lease were concerned, Macdonald himself had said that the enterprise would receive "every legitimate encouragement" from the government⁶ and Cochrane was just the man to wring every possible scrap of meaning from that statement. The continual pressure that Cochrane exerted over the next few months ensured that the general outline of the ranching regulations would be attractive to large-scale corporate investors; however, he failed to obtain many of the details he suggested since many of his "requirements" were too opposed to the public interest, even for a favourably disposed administration.

Cochrane made it clear that he expected the government to exert itself to accommodate his needs. He agreed to the government proposal that the term of the lease for the grazing lands be 21 years, but suggested that the government should have the option of resuming the land and cancelling the lease only after 7 or 14 years, if required for agricultural purposes, and then by giving 3 years' notice. He further suggested that if such cancellation were considered necessary, the leased land ought not to be sold in areas of less than a township, with the lessees having the option of purchase under the same conditions as

the settlers. Further, the lessees should have the right to select and purchase up to 5,000 acres of the leased land at \$1.00 per acre at any time during the first two years. Cattle, horses and other stock would be admitted free of duty in 1881 and 1882, along with farm implements, wagons, harness, and so on required for the purpose of ranching.⁷

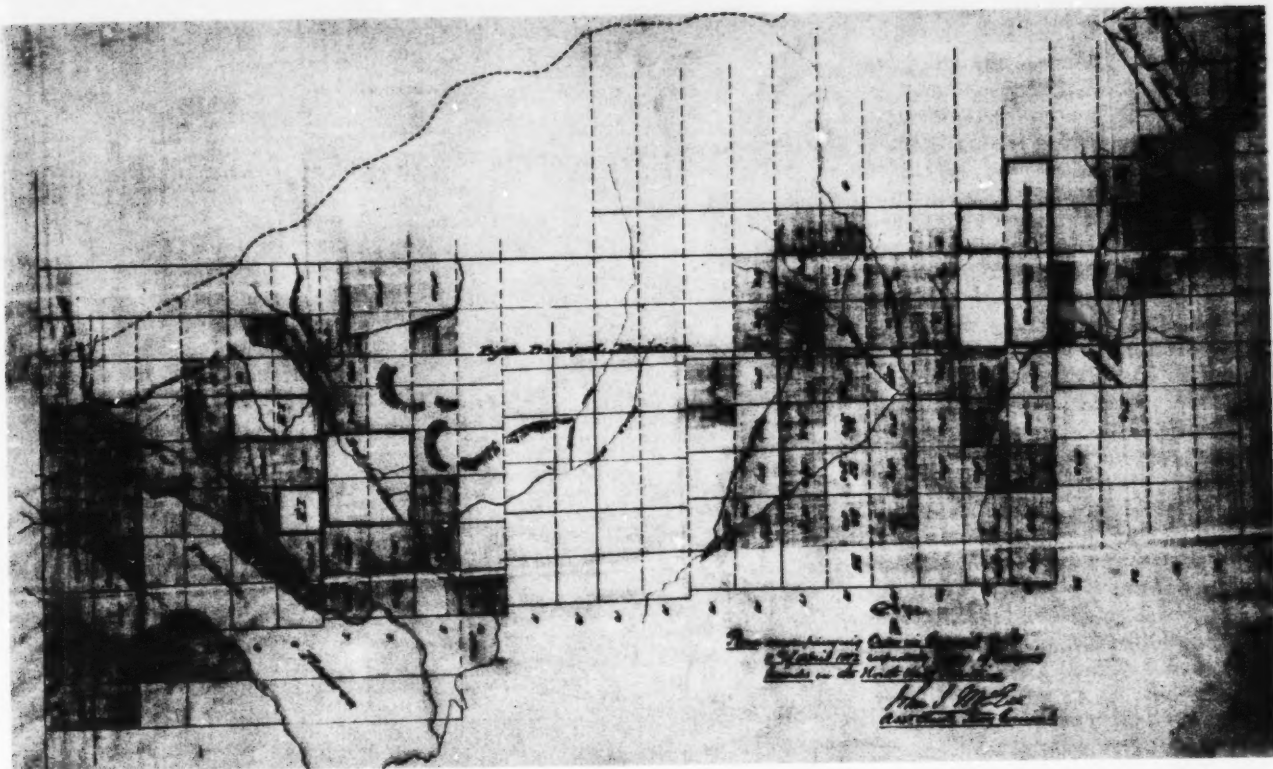
Cochrane proposed generous terms for himself and it is a measure of his brand of self-confidence that he would even suggest such a lease. It is scarcely surprising that, with the exception of the proposal to admit stocker cattle free of duty, the actual lease, the terms of which were generous enough, bears only a general resemblance to this proposal.

The objections of the investors relative to the government lease, as put forward by McEachran during Cochrane's absence in England, were not unreasonable from a strictly ranching point of view, but with its visions of settlement in the future the Department of the Interior was not willing to shift its position much. McEachran noted that the option to cancel the lease after two years meant that despite the enormous investment required, what they were getting was a two-year lease, renewable every two years for a like period. It would, he claimed, be at least five years before any return

on investment could be expected and if the lease were cancelled after, for example, six years, ruin would surely follow. Even if it were only cancelled in part, a latecoming lessee or settler could in those pre-barbed wire days turn his cattle among the new, improved and acclimatized herd and reap the benefits of interbreeding free of risk and expense. A much more attractive proposition in the eyes of the businessmen behind the Cochrane Rancho Company would have been an uninterrupted 21-year lease with the right to purchase in whole or in part on its expiration.⁸ These objections were too radical for a department whose main commitment was settling families on homesteads, but the form of the lease which was approved (but not until March 1882) did resemble the Cochrane proposals in its provisions for large-scale operations.

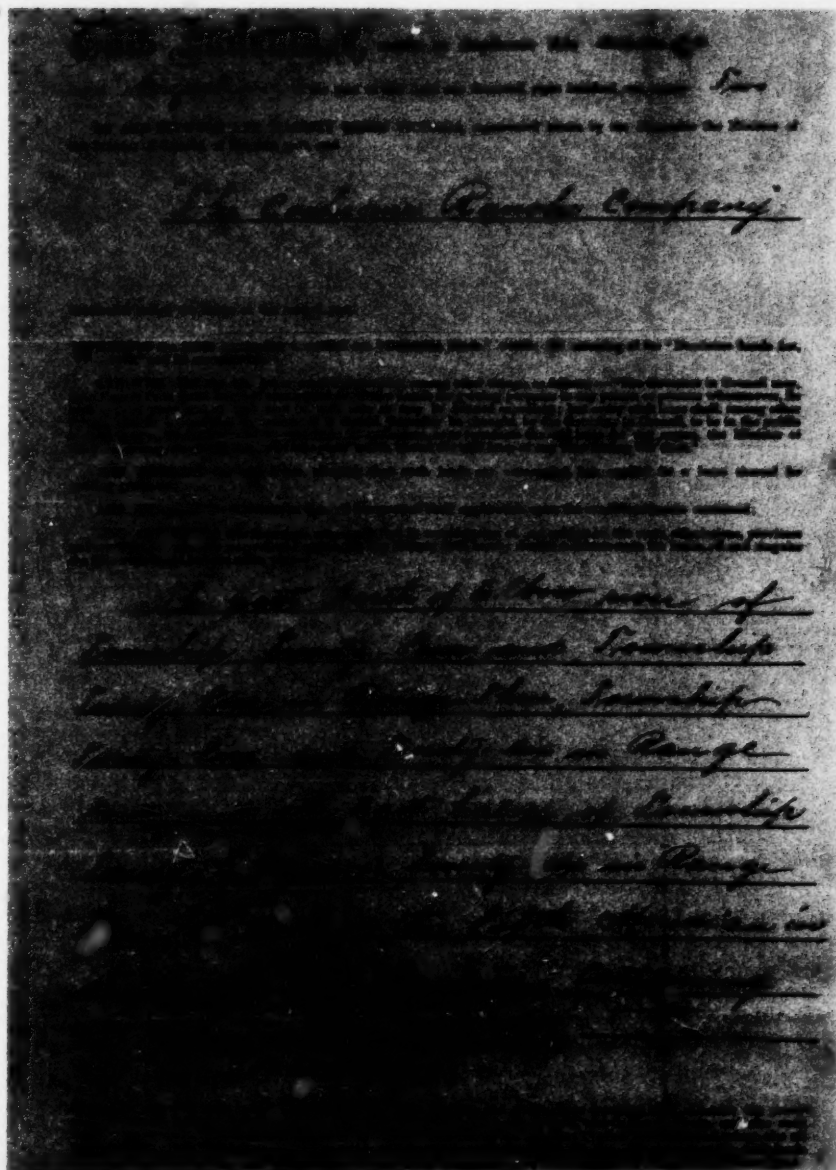
There was one point of conflict in the leasing provisions over which Cochrane was reluctant to admit defeat. This involved the right to buy outright a substantial acreage within the limits of the lease for use as a "home farm." The first attempt to persuade the government of the need for this concession was made in his letter of 17 December 1880 and he elaborated further in his letter of 10 February when he asked to be assured of the sale of a tract of 10,000 acres within the lease. This was rejected by Macdonald, but in a memorandum drafted for council on 17 February the prime minister went so far as to accept the premise on which the request was based — the need for a secure base of freehold land from which to

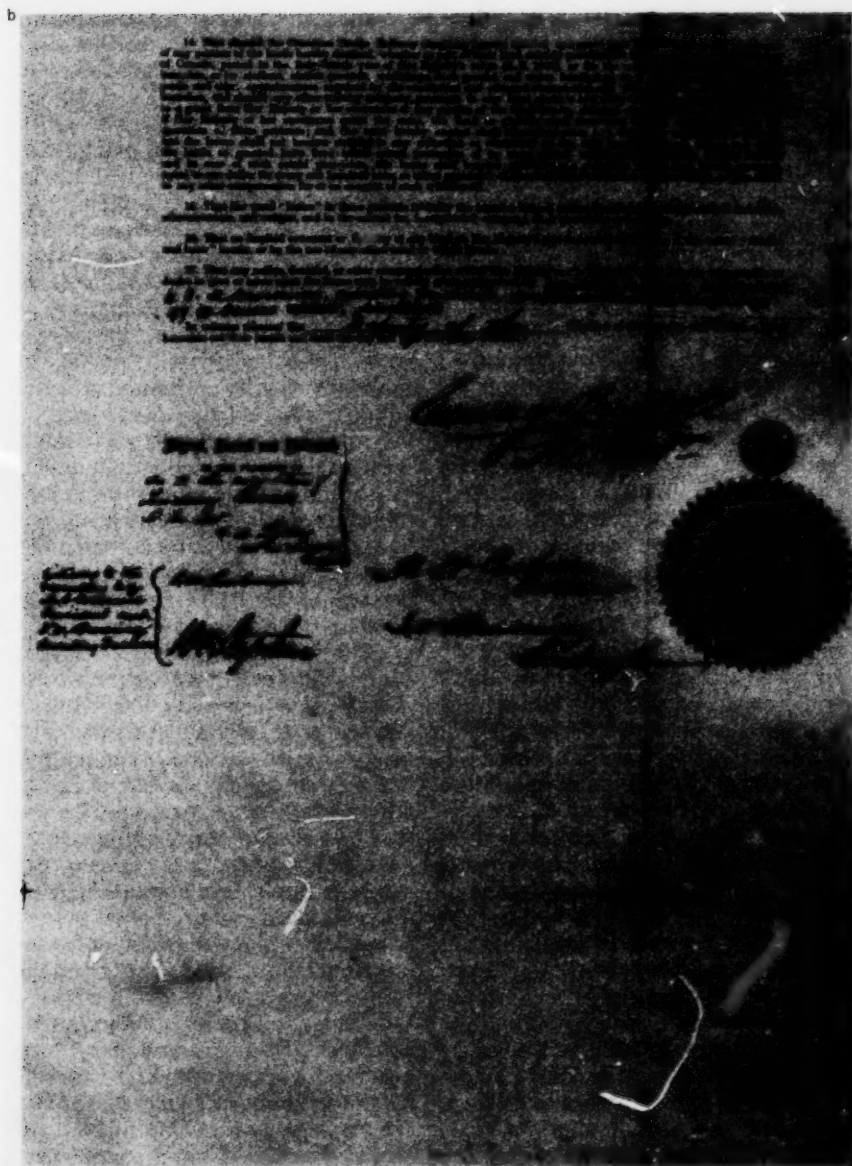
Map of the northern and southern ranges of the
Cochrane ranch, April 1882. (Public Archives of
Canada.)



operate — anticipating Dennis's recommendation of 9 May. Macdonald was not, however, willing to admit that the ranch needed any more security than 5,000 acres at \$2.00 per acre.⁹ For some reason, the memorandum embodying these views was never incorporated into an order in council at this time, if indeed it were ever submitted. Instead, a private agreement was reached at a meeting on or about 11 May between Macdonald, Cochrane and Wiser. The agreement, substantially as Macdonald had proposed but with the price of the land lowered to \$1.25 per acre,¹⁰ was incorporated in the order in council of 20 May and applied to the entire ranching industry. On this order in council, according to Cochrane's later statements, was based much of the appeal to potential investors who were probably told that if the ranch failed, the sale of the land would enable them to recoup their investment.

In politics, however, nothing is certain and the order of 23 December 1881 revising the conditions under which grazing leases would be awarded did no more than permit the lessee to "purchase land within his leasehold for a home farm and corral."¹¹ In other words, the amount of land sold would be decided by the Department of the Interior. Cochrane protested, but to no avail, for although he maintained that only the 20 May 1881 order applied to him, the department stated that, as his lease was signed in August 1882,





the December order must prevail. Some two years of letter writing and personal interviews availed him nothing and eventually the Department of the Interior simply ignored his letters on the subject.¹² In the end, Cochrane received his due, for the cancellation of the original leases announced in October 1892 permitted holders of those leases to buy up to ten per cent of their leasehold the following spring at a price of \$1.25 per acre. Ironically, the price was established on the grounds that it was only fair to sell at the amount announced in the initial set of regulations of 20 May 1881.¹³

In other respects, however, his influence proved more potent. He was able to persuade the government to entirely forbid sheep grazing on the grounds that they would do extensive damage,¹⁴ and it was only the personal intervention of the Marquis of Lorne that in the end forestalled him. His Excellency pointed out that such a blanket prohibition was a "most harsh measure . . . calculated to provoke great dissatisfaction among the smaller graziers" and while he did not refuse to sign the order in council (with the attendant constitutional complications), he held it back, thereby preventing its publication until he could persuade Macdonald to modify it by introducing a system

of ministerial permits for sheep grazing¹⁵ Nevertheless, there was still bitterness; the "advice of a certain ranching senator" was not well regarded by those who had taken out leases with the idea of sheep ranching until forestalled by "this monstrous restriction."¹⁶

In the matter of choosing the necessary grazing lands, the senator was to demonstrate a remarkable capacity for getting his own way. Certainly he left the departmental officials in no doubt as to their relative positions in his scheme of things. "I have always understood that I was to have first choice" he wrote. "I may, after personal inspection, decide to locate in quite a different part from that which you have assigned to me even approximately, and before I go into the country I want authority to select where I choose, irrespective of any applications made by others, provided I take it in a block."¹⁷

The Ranch Manager

One of the most important aspects of organization was to locate a suitable ranch manager. McEachran's official title was "Resident General Manager," but his other interests were so extensive that it would seem unlikely he ever intended to do much more than supply advice when required. There is no evidence that he did more than that, though this advice was, in the beginning at least, given priority. At any rate, efforts were early made to locate a suitable

ranch manager who could get the new venture off on the right foot. Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney had, in the course of his official duties, come to know Superintendent James Walker of the North-West Mounted Police well, and no doubt admired the cool efficiency which marked the latter's performance of his duties. For example, Walker had distributed over \$100,000 among the various Indian agencies of the territories during the summer of 1880, facing a number of crises with restless Indians with the aplomb that was becoming characteristic of the Mounted Police. Accordingly, in conversation with Cochrane, Dewdney mentioned Walker as the ideal man to manage the ranch and the senator took up the suggestion at once. Whether by accident or design, Walker arrived in Ottawa late in 1880 as escort to Mrs. Dalrymple Clarke, widow of an officer who died at Fort Walsh and niece of Lady Macdonald. The proposal was put to him by Sir John A. Macdonald. The annual salary offered was \$2,400 compared to the \$1,400 he received in the Mounted Police and Macdonald advised him to accept. He did so in the new year, no doubt bearing in mind the favourable impression he had received of the proposed ranch site on his previous travels.¹⁸

The Cowboys

The cowboys employed on the Cochrane ranch were probably a rough lot and many would have been American as a definite effort was made to hire hands from the outfits that brought the drives up from the

United States.¹⁹ There was at least one exception as to nationality on the Cochrane spread, the foreman Ca Sous, a Mexican half-breed who was a fine cowboy, but had an abrasive personality that made it difficult for him to get along with the men. Yet despite the cowboys' backgrounds in the American West, it is almost a truism that the history of the Canadian West was one of peaceful development. Perhaps when McEachran sighed with relief on crossing the border on the way to Calgary from Fort Benton and when he claimed that there was a perceptible difference as soon as they reached British territory, it was more than chauvinism.²⁰

Whatever their nationality, the cowboys impressed the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* on his western tour in 1882.

Speaking of cow-boys reminds me of a duty I owe to that much-abused class, and that is to say to the world that they are as a rule grossly misrepresented. They are not as far as my observation goes, anything like the terrible desperadoes they are generally supposed to be. True, they usually carry long-barrelled six-shooters about them; but if the mildest-mannered philanthropist that ever came out of the New England States were called upon to mix himself up in the society of wild Texas steers to the extent that they are I think he, too, would hardly consider himself dressed till he had buckled on his cartridge belt and his "hints to the unconverted." They are the very reverse of quarrelsome.

and on the other hand, generous, good-hearted, and remarkably polite and well-behaved towards strangers.²¹

The perquisites of a cowboy's existence seem to have been not too unpleasant if F.W.G. Haultain's description is at all realistic. In the early summer of 1885 he visited Cochrane's son William, who was managing the operation on the southern range, and Haultain described to his mother what he observed from the visitor's viewpoint: *Life on a ranche is not very eventful. One day I drove up with Cochrane to the upper part of the range some fifteen miles from the ranche buildings. It was a very pleasant drive over the prairie in the direction of the mountains. . . . Ranche hours are, breakfast at 4:30 ! ! ! ! dinner at twelve and supper at six. I find them not unpleasant now as I go to bed at half past eight or nine. They feed very well here, having plenty of milk and cream, and always fresh meat, which strange to say are rarely to be found on a cattle ranche. The usual breakfast is porridge and cream, beefsteak or bacon, potatoes, canned tomatoes or corn, beans, pancakes and maple syrup. Dinner is very much the same, with the exception of porridge and pancakes, but with pudding or pastry. Supper is the same as dinner. Very luxuriously, you will say, the cattlemen live well, not exactly luxuriously, but well. Canned stuff is a staple article all over the west and is used in great quantities. The cowboys have large wages and hard work, and always require the best of everything. Everything they have is good. Their clothes though rough and*

*suited to the country are good and they buy the very best underclothing, socks, boots, etc.*²²

Round-up was the most difficult time for the cowboys, for the hours were long and the work was fast and hard. Morning came early for a round-up crew, already ten miles from camp when the sun rose. Compensation was the early supper hour of 4:00 P.M., a consequence of the cattle needing some time to graze and settle in before they would bed down in new surroundings. In wet weather life was miserable. Everything down to matches and tobacco was wet and soggy, horses were mean and food was cold.²³ Yet it was a free, open and independent life out in the western air and far from teeming humanity. As a way of life it drew many converts from the East along with those brought up to it.

The Breeding Stock

The results of Cochrane's visit to England in February to acquire purebred stock for the ranch must have reassured the government if ever it had any doubts as to the bona fides of the scheme. On 12 April 1881 the Dominion Line steamer *Texas* arrived at Halifax with what was termed the largest consignment of purebred cattle ever imported into Canada.²⁴ The shipment raised eyebrows even in England and the journal *The Colonies and India* noted, *Canada is determined to make the most of her opportunities for improving her breed of cattle . . . last week saw one of the most valuable consignments of live stock ever*

*exported from this country leave the Mersey for Canada, to be added to the stock of the Hon. M. H. Cochrane, of Hillhurst, Quebec. Sixty odd Hereford bulls, including one from Windsor, 45 polled Aberdeens [Angus], 6 Bates shorthorns, a dozen Jersey and Guernsey cattle, was a fine cargo for one vessel and for one owner. Besides these over 200 Shropshire and Oxford Down sheep and ten Clydesdale stallions, all for the same owner.*²⁵

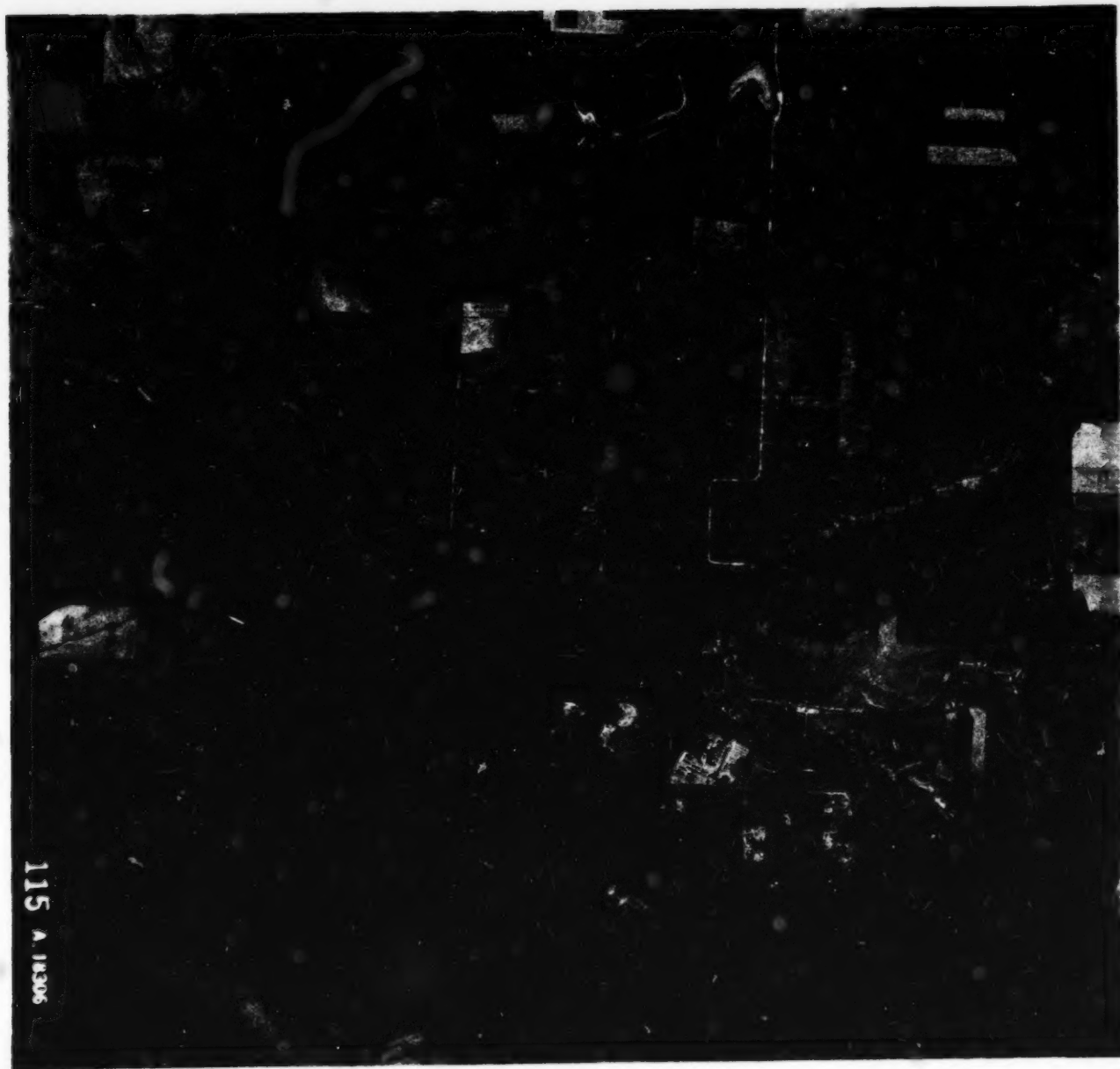
The bulk of the shipment, under McEachran's charge, was destined for the ranch although at least 75 sheep went to Hillhurst.

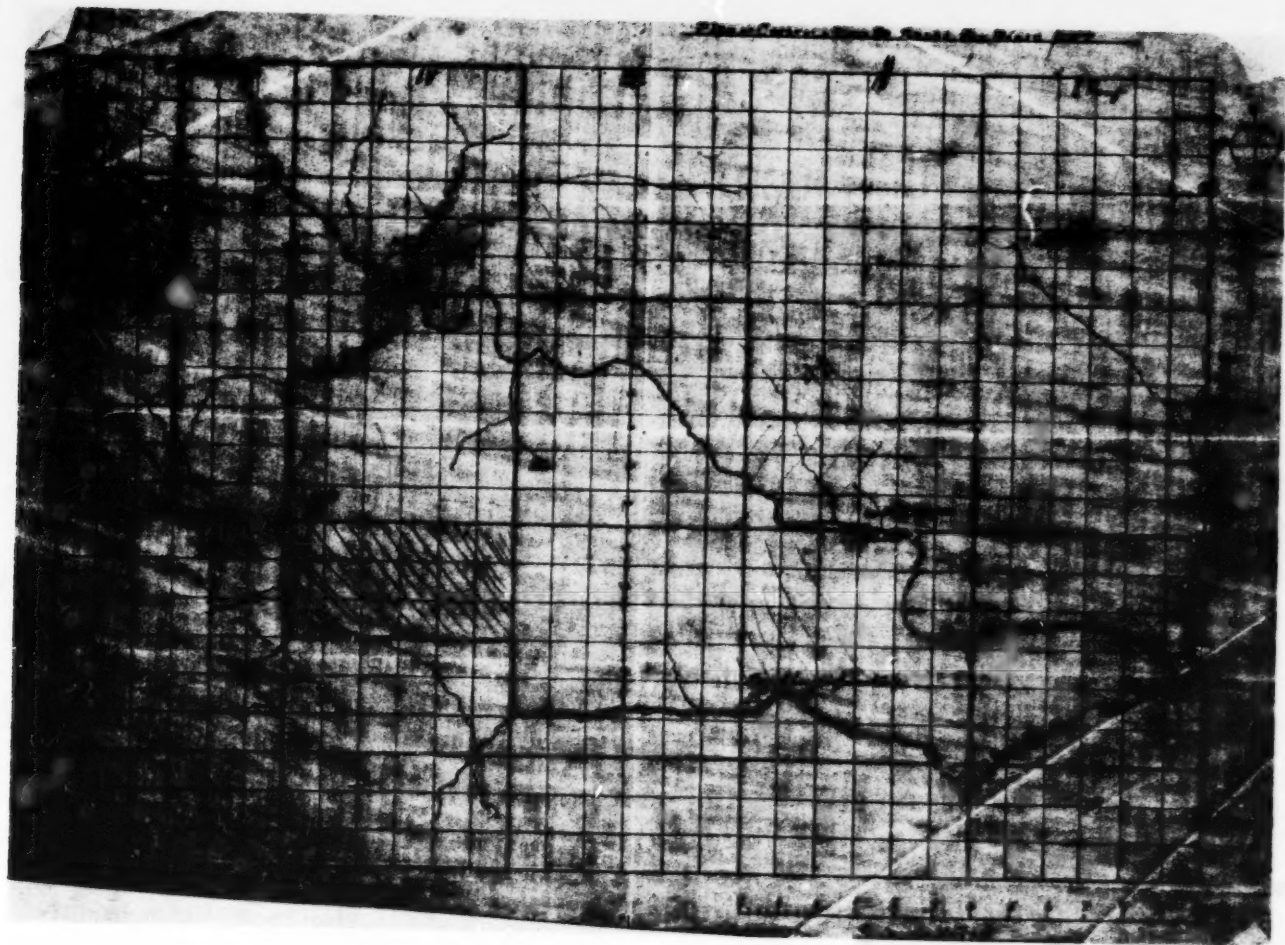
Nor was this shipment the only one of its kind during the year. In late October James Cochrane sent to Canada 86 Hereford bulls which he had selected with some care from the herds of such celebrated breeders as Lord Polworth and the Earl of Latham.²⁶

These aristocratic animals represented only a fraction of the proposed total herd, although upon their blood lines depended the success or failure of the venture. Over the next few years these bulls would mingle with some 8,000 range cattle and over that period would, through their offspring, gradually raise the quality of the entire herd. These thousands of range cattle would naturally come from the nearest and cheapest source, the western United States.

Choosing the Ground

By the end of May 1881 the Cochrane Ranche Company had not yet finally decided on a specific location for its operations, although Cochrane





made it clear enough that he wanted it in the Bow River district which he may have visited the previous summer. At the beginning of June, in company with McEachran, the senator set out for Calgary to look over the ground and determine the limits of the lease. Despite a provision in the regulations of 20 May requiring that the leases be auctioned off, this was not to stand in the way of the Cochrane ranch; the deputy minister of the Interior had on 9 May already presented a report to the minister containing the names of those to whom promises of grazing leaseholds had been made.²⁷ One of these, of course, was Cochrane. On the strength of this report which, while confidential, Cochrane must have seen, operations went ahead as though the lease had been granted, though it was to be a year before this was an accomplished fact.

At this stage in the development of the North-West Territories, it was still necessary to go to Calgary via the United States by railway and steamer to Fort Benton, Montana, then northward to Fort MacLeod and Calgary via horse or bull train. The trip was a long one and by the time the senator's party reached Calgary, Walker had staked out the ranch site at Big Hill, an aptly named location about 23 miles west of Calgary. The location suitably impressed the directors.

The land is rolling, consisting of numerous grass hills, plateaux and bottom lands, intersected here and

there by streams of considerable size issuing from never-failing springs. The water is clear and cool. Every one of them, as well as Jumping Pond [pound] Creek and Bow River, is full of trout, brook and salmon, which are most delicious to eat. There is an abundance of pine and cotton-wood on Jumping Pond Creek and the hillsides, besides numerous thickets of alder and willow scattered here and there over the range, which afford excellent shelter for stock in winter. The grasses are most luxuriant, especially what is known as "bunch-grass," and wild vetch or pea-vine, and on the lower levels, in damper soil, the blue-joint grass, which resembles the English rye-grass, but grows stronger and higher. On some of the upland meadows wild Timothy is also found. These grasses grow in many places from one to two feet high, and cover the ground like a thick mat. . . . The site selected for the ranch buildings is a beautiful one, a level plateau covered with rich pasture, on the north bank of Bow River, about forty feet above the level of the water. It commands an extensive view of the range, and from here the snow-capped peaks of the Rockies are seen standing out in bold relief against the western horizon. The soil is rich, and the long grass which covers it will make excellent hay, and in a few years, probably, it will

*be fenced in and divided into beautiful fields with sheds and corrals necessary for the segregation of the different breeds of the male animals, and otherwise assume the features of civilization.*²⁸

Walker had been sufficiently confident that his choice would be approved to mark out the boundaries preparatory to its being surveyed. Nor was he disappointed; the directors agreed to his selection and based the formal application to the government (not made for nearly a year) on his choice.

As has been noted, the Cochrane lease was not finally signed until August 1882 (although the designation of 46 leases, including Cochrane's, was made in March), by which time the Cochrane Ranch Company had been in occupation of its site and in actual operation for over a year. The months before the signing of the lease had been put to good use not only on the site but also back East. There was more to ranching than just obtaining a lease of one's own: it was necessary as well to ensure that one's neighbours were the right kind of people. As early as May 1881 Cochrane undertook to impress upon the Department of the Interior that he would greatly prefer it if Wiser held the neighbouring lease rather than any of the other applicants. Further, he pointed out, it had always been his understanding "that I was to

have first choice and Mr. Wiser next."²⁹

In view of Wiser's business and other interests, it is not surprising that Cochrane was anxious to have him as a neighbour and it is possible that there was some plan to combine operations into one large-scale ranch. It is a measure of his stature in the business world that when Wiser visited Ottawa at the end of April 1881 to look into the matter of obtaining a lease, the visit and the reason for it were reported the following day in financial pages of the Montreal press.³⁰ His actual connection with the Alberta ranching industry did not in fact develop along the lines which these initial approaches indicated, but the connection with the senator remained close. At some point it was decided to expand this plan and out of it grew the Dominion Cattle Company, incorporated 23 September 1882.³¹ As originally stated, this company was intended to carry out *breeding, raising, buying and selling cattle, horses, sheep and other stock, and the carrying on in all its branches of stock-raising at or in the State of Texas and the Indian Territory and elsewhere in the United States of America, and also in the Dominion of Canada, particularly in the North West Territory, with a head office in the city of Sherbrooke, in the province of Quebec.*³²

The applicants for the charter were, W. B. Ives, MP, of Sherbrooke; Senator Cochrane; Senator Ogilvie; J. P. Wiser, MP; R. H. Pope, cattle

breeder, MP (1889-1904) and senator (1911-14), from Eaton Township, Quebec; Hugh Ryan, Perth, Ontario; Harlow G. Wiser of Prescott, and William Prosser Herring of Emporia, Kansas. The authorized stock of the company was \$800,000 divided into 8,000 shares of \$100 each.³³ The actual Letters Patent of Incorporation differ somewhat from the information given above in that references to the American operations had to be dropped because the purposes for which applicants might be incorporated could only be those to which the legislative authority of Canada extended.³⁴

The Setting

For the first year or so the ranch was one of the few white settlements in a still empty land, otherwise broken only by the Indian mission of the Reverends John and George McDougall at Morley and the North-West Mounted Police post at Calgary. The latter place "then consisted of four or five log huts, i.e., The Hudson Bay Store, I. G. Baker's, the police palisaded post and the police officer, Captain Denny's house."³⁵

Morley, named in honour of the Reverend Morley Punshon who served as chairman of the Canadian Methodist Conference from 1867 to 1873, was almost the larger of the two settlements. Established in



15 Bull trains. (C. M. MacInnes, *In the Shadow of the Rockies* [London: Rivingtons, 1930].)



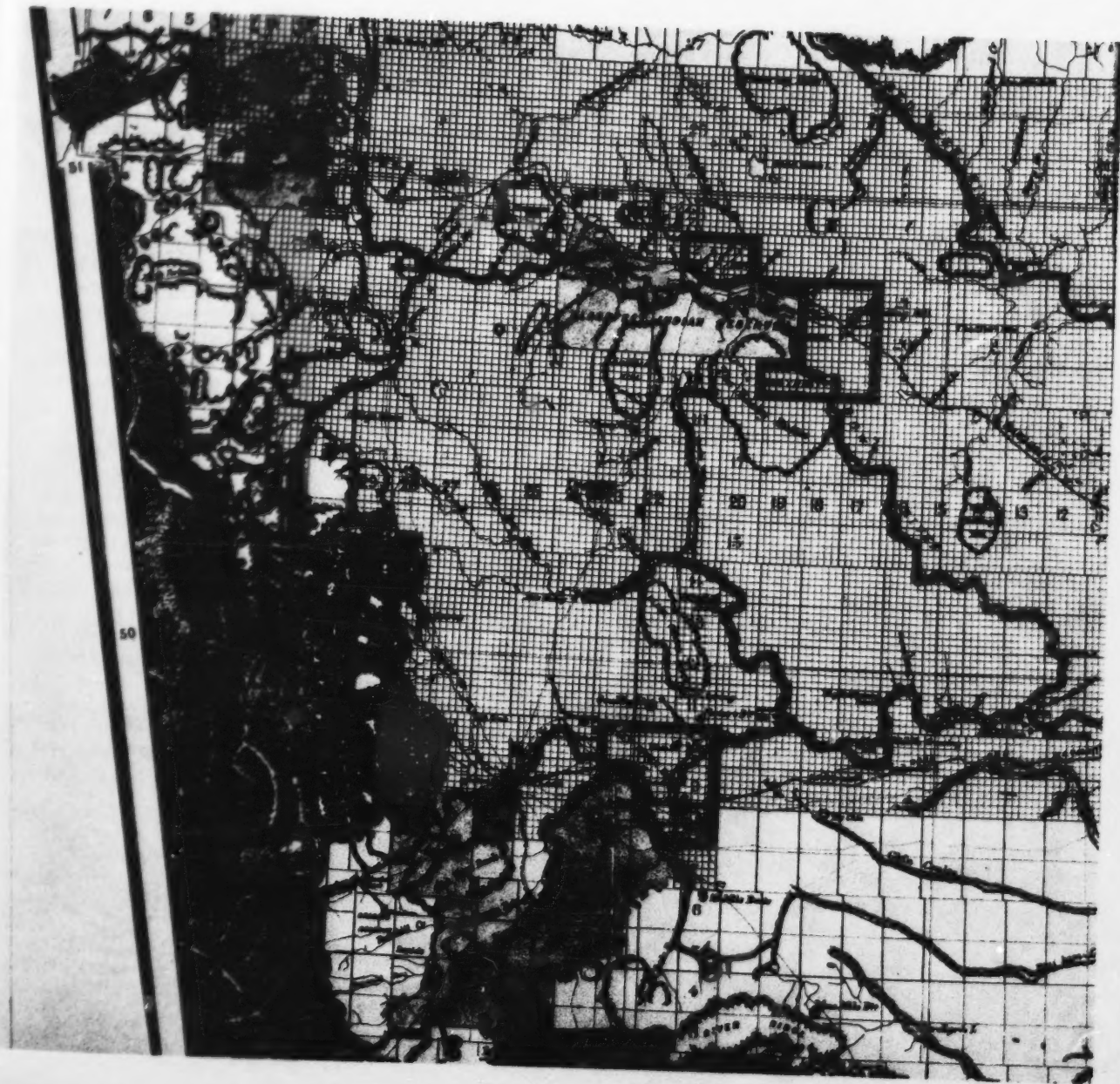
1873, it had by this time a church, a day school, a mission house, a store, various stables and an Indian encampment.

Communication with the outside world was slow. Supplies were brought in by the freight teams of I. G. Baker and Company of Montana which hauled all merchandise north from Fort Benton and Fort MacLeod. The bull trains were imposing when encountered on the prairie. As many as 15 yoke of oxen made a team pulling three wagons (the lead, the swing and the trail)

and any number of teams made up a train. Each train was supplied with a cook and a mess wagon. Their slowness was legendary. On one occasion when Walker arrived at Fort MacLeod on his way to Calgary from the East, he was told, on asking for his mail, that it had left two weeks before on the bull train. Calgary being 102 miles north of MacLeod, Walker headed north expecting to pick up his mail at his destination. He learned his error 40 miles out from Calgary where he met the train placidly crawling north. With good weather, the foreman told him, they would make it to Calgary in ten days.³⁶

Initially the future of Calgary was held in such little regard by the authorities that Fred White, comptroller of the Mounted Police in Ottawa, initially tried to persuade Cochrane and Walker to take over the police reserve, which covered much of the land in and around the townsite, as a site for the ranch headquarters.³⁷

Matters did improve, however, particularly with the announcement that the CPR would take the southern route via the Kicking Horse and



Rogers passes rather than the northern route through the Yellow-head Pass. When Frank White arrived in September 1882 to replace Walker as ranch manager, there was a fairly bustling little community with a modest social life. By 1883 there was sufficient population to support a newspaper, the *Calgary Herald*, and with the arrival of the railway in 1885 Fort Benton was displaced as the source of supply for the Alberta district and Calgary became the distributing and shipping point for the area.

The Indians were still one of the major problems which faced the ranchers. Those tribes in the immediate vicinity of the Cochrane operations were the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan which formed one of the most aggressive of the western Indian nations, the Blackfoot. In 1882 Commissioner Irvine worried about the effect of the incoming whites on these people.

*These Indians are entirely unused to large bodies of white men, and know nothing of a railway or its use. The Indian mind being very easily influenced, and very suspicious, it may be that they will consider their rights encroached upon, and their country about to be taken from them.*³⁸

While Irvine's report was perhaps a bit out of date, the problem was

still serious and initially the directors of the Cochrane ranch were not unsympathetic. McEachran observed that

*The large increase of white settlers, many of them frontiersmen from the States or the other side of the mountains — men who will not hesitate to shoot any Indian whom they may detect in, or even suspect of, cattle stealing, together with the introduction of large bands of cattle into different parts of the territory, greatly increases the danger. It must be expected that these poor Indian people, unless fed regularly and well by the Government, will, in their semi-starving condition, find it very hard to refrain from killing cattle. Unless the greatest precautions are taken to prevent a disruption between them and the whites, they may be converted from a most peaceful to a dangerous race, among whom neither life nor property will be safe.*³⁹

This sympathy was to become somewhat dulled in future years as the Indians, restless either from boredom or hunger or seeking to enhance their prestige among their fellows, continued stealing horses and cattle. While the loss thus experienced was never particularly serious, it was a constant annoyance and the methods used — starting prairies fires to drive horses toward a reserve — often angered the ranchers more than the theft itself.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Indian was a highly visible target for a rancher's indignation in contrast to the many acts

of God which beset him but had to be suffered without seeking recompense. Nevertheless the ranchers generally tended to blame the Indian Department rather than its charges on the grounds that had the government lived up to its responsibility to feed and educate the Indian, there would have been much less of a problem.

Representative of those acts of God against which man and beast were totally helpless were the insects which, during a wet June, July and August, made life unbearable. Cattle and horses were driven frantic and often bled and sometimes died from the bites of bulldog flies. Mosquitoes breeding in the tall grasses and in the sloughs covered animals so thickly that it was impossible to tell their colour. Frequently horses fled upwind for long distances to escape the torment. The only possible relief was a "smudge," of which every ranch and camp had at least one. This consisted of an enclosure about six feet square surrounded by a strong fence and in the centre a smouldering fire of wood, sagebrush and sods. The smoke kept the insects away to some extent and around the smudges the stock would

crowd and jostle one another to get the best effect. Men dressed in gauntlets and nets suffered somewhat less except at mealtimes when they either starved or ate in the smoke of the smudge.⁴¹

These, then, are some aspects of the environment in which the Cochrane ranch was to operate and which the Montreal capitalists set out with unbounded confidence to exploit.

Empire

The First Cattle Drive

By early summer 1881 some stock was already on the range, a number of thoroughbred stallions and mares brought out by Cochrane and McEachran. These were quartered at a ranch on the southern edge of what was to be the lease at the point where it met the Elbow River (probably that shown on Fig. 13 as "Ranch bought from King") which was under the supervision of E. A. Baynes, the senator's son-in-law; a Mr. Baxter, and six former Mounted Police.¹

Shortly after this the first lot of the imported breeding stock arrived: six purebred Shorthorns and one Hereford, all bred at Hillhurst.² By autumn about 50 purebreds had reached Big Hill, travelling via rail and steamer to Fort Benton and on foot to Calgary. They were principally Herefords with some Aberdeen Angus and Durham Shorthorns, all under two years old and averaging in cost \$140.86. The Angus, it was observed, stood the long journey best, followed by the Herefords.³

While these represented but a part of the 300 or so purebred stock planned to be imported, they were only a fraction of the total stock, which was to be brought in from the United States. The range cattle had no particular breeding, but they were a step up from the wiry longhorns common before the arrival of the railway in the central states made long exhausting drives unnecessary. The process of bringing

this basic stock of range cattle up to an acceptable standard through breeding them to the purebred bulls accounted for a lengthy delay before the ranch was expected to make a significant return on the capital investment.

Walker was in charge of buying the cattle, a job he began early in the summer of 1881. This was no easy task as the good market for beef which made ranching such an attractive proposition did not differentiate between beef cattle and breeding stock, hence prices were high. The *Chicago Times* noted: *The strong prices paid for cattle the past two months, have affected their value to the furthest limits of the Western grazing country, and have revived an interest in the growth and feeding of cattle which will be felt for a long time. Several large herds have changed hands in Colorado, Montana and Wyoming lately at a handsome profit to the original owners. A large amount of idle capital seeking a safe and profitable investment will be put into stock this year all over the West.*⁴

In addition to high prices, McEachran reported heavy losses of stock in the districts where the company had planned to purchase breeding cattle, with a consequent effect on prices.⁵ Accordingly the investment in cattle would have to be higher than had been planned initially.

17 A herd of cattle west of Calgary, Cochrane ranch,
1882 or 1883. (*Glenbow-Alberta Institute.*)



The first purchase, 500 head from Walla Walla, Washington, was supervised by Mose McDougall. The drive back was a long and costly one for McDougall was drowned in the Hell Gate River near Missoula, Montana. Other purchases followed; Walker on one occasion bought 3,000 head when he met some ranchers while waiting for a stage in Dillon, Montana.⁶ Most of the cattle were purchased in Montana and the main herd, numbering six or seven thousand, cost \$16 a head delivered at the boundary. The cattle were purchased from six different outfits — I. G. Baker and Company, Harrison and Company, Pollard and Baker, and the firms of McKenzie, Strong, and Price.⁷ They were well chosen and within their limits they were big, fine animals, well finished, well developed and carrying weight easily.

The cattle were to be delivered to the international boundary by the vendors and from there I. G. Baker and Company undertook to deliver them to Big Hill at \$2.50 a head. The trek, which was to become a byword in the Northwest for hard driving, was supervised by Howell Harris as far as the border where Frank Strong, foreman for Baker's, took over. To speed the proceedings up, Strong divided the herd in two, the steers in the first batch and the cows and calves to follow. The pace was wicked, the steers averaging 15 to 18 miles per day, the cows and calves close to 14. The cowboys "tin-canned" and "slick-ered" them (kept them moving

by rattling tin cans and waving slickers) from morning to night without a break and kept them so closely herded at dark that they had scarcely a chance to graze, although in any case they were usually so tired that they preferred resting to eating. This sort of pace taxed the steers to the limit; its effect on the cows and calves was cruel. A number of wagons trailed along in the van to pick up straggling calves, but they were scarcely sufficient to save all those that fell behind. Too young, weak and hungry to keep up with the grown stock, they dropped out, were piled in the wagons when there was room, or left to die. Some calves were traded off by the cowboys for a pound of butter, a drink of milk or tea, or to whiskey traders who, to their considerable profit, accepted calves as legal tender.⁸

Such a massive drive could not fail to attract notice even in conditions of sparse settlement. Lachlan Kennedy, a Dominion land surveyor, met 2,800 head near Fort Calgary on 2 September and a few weeks later passed another herd of 1,800 further south at the Willow Creek ford.⁹ The governor general, the Marquis of Lorne, also encountered the herds during his tour of the Northwest. That part which had already arrived in Calgary when his Excellency passed through was drawn up for vice-regal inspection by Baynes and one of the foremen, Mr. Barter. An exhibition of roping was put on by the cowboys,

who were "all armed to the teeth," and who impressed the party with their skill.¹⁰ The governor general passed three separate herds and though one must bear in mind the almost complete inexperience of the expedition's chronicler, the Reverend James McGregor, a Scots Presbyterian clergyman, plus the fact that he may have been reflecting a discreet official point of view, it is recorded that the members of the vice-regal party were impressed by the small death toll. This, of course, is a direct contradiction of the version that has been passed down to posterity. They travelled along the route taken by the drive for some 300 miles, passing most of it in the process, and only occasionally at distant intervals saw a carcass. Calves only a month old, claimed Mr. McGregor, made their daily journey as well as their mothers.¹¹

With the cattle at last on hand, the first thing to do was to brand them. They could not be loosed on the range without brands and they had to be turned onto the range to graze and gain strength before winter. Time was short and there were thousands of cattle. The solution adopted by the ranch management was to put on a "hair brand," one that was simply scraped in the hair with a knife or with acid, and leave the permanent branding until the spring round-up. This step was to lead to considerable problems. (Later Walker devised a contrivance for branding full grown cattle, a "squeezing gate," that was

an excellent idea but did not, unfortunately, always work satisfactorily.¹²⁾

In the meantime, there was much additional work. Sheds had to be erected for the thoroughbred stock, both cattle and horses, and hay was put up at different points to feed them.¹³ The stock from Washington and Montana, being native, was expected to fend for itself on the open range.

To date, \$124,780.01 had been spent on cattle of which 6,799 head, including 58 thoroughbred bulls, were on the ranch.¹⁴ At this point, with nearly 7,000 head of exhausted stock and only enough winter food for the thoroughbreds, winter closed in early and hard. The months of unending cold and snow that followed gave the lie to all the glittering expectations. There was no sign of those mild open winters during which cattle fattened on the protein-rich grass cured on the stalk in the fresh mountain air. The miserable starved animals, far from their accustomed ranges, had no idea where the springs and grazing areas were even if they could have reached them under the snow. Drifting ahead of the winds, they gathered for shelter in the snow-filled coulees and there they died by the hundreds of cold and starvation. To be fair to the country, the winter was probably not more severe than could have been expected. Had the cattle been fit and



accustomed to the range, they probably would have borne out the expectations of the investors as to the wintering capabilities of the Northwest cattle country. Such, however, was not the case and losses were heavy, close to a thousand head according to Walker.¹⁵

The Empire Grows

In Montreal, the senator and his colleagues were no doubt shaken, but were evidently undeterred by the set-back. Nonetheless, they were all good businessmen and the company began to take steps to hedge its bets. The shareholders independently applied for certain choice grazing leases bordering the Cochrane leases with the evident intent of circumventing regulations and increasing the area available to the Cochrane ranch.

In February 1882 Charles Carroll Colby applied to the Department of the Interior for a grazing lease for a tract of land between the Belly and Waterton rivers. On the seventeenth of that month the senator's son-in-law, Baynes, applied for a lease of Townships 25 and 26 in Range 2, and half of Township 26 in Range 3, west of Calgary. On the twenty-first, E. T. Brooks applied for a lease in the vicinity of Colby's, south of Fort MacLeod.¹⁶ In addition, on 17 February Cochrane wrote the minister in connection with his "understanding with the government that I should have on behalf of the Cochrane Ranch Co., the first claim of the lands required by that Coy. for grazing purposes,"¹⁷ and submitted a formal application for the required lands at Big Hill. Another application of which the original request has not survived was from A. W.

Ogilvie for a lease on the eastern border of the Cochrane ranch.

Under the authority of PC 722 of 11 April 1882, the requested grazing leases were authorized and the accompanying map (see Fig. 10) indicates just how well the senator marshalled the "Old Boy Network" of Parliament Hill, the Eastern Townships and the Montreal financial community. To the west of Calgary the Cochrane Rancho Company received Ranch 42, consisting of 100,000 acres in that part north of the Elbow River of Townships 24 and 25 in Range 3, Townships 25 and 26 in Range 4, and the eastern halves of Townships 25 and 26. Just to the east, Ogilvie received Ranch 43, consisting of 34,000 acres comprising that part north of the Elbow River of Township 23, Township 24 and the southern half of Township 25, all in Range 2. On the northeast borders of the Cochrane ranch lease, Ranch 44 – 55,000 acres made up of the northern halves of Township 25 and Township 26 in Range 2, and Township 26 in Range 3 – was leased to Major Baynes. These three leases made up a neat block of 189,000 acres of choice grazing land along the Bow River west of Calgary.

In the southern part of the province, under the name of the Eastern Townships Rancho Company, Brooks was granted Ranch 34, consisting of 33,000 acres between the Belly and Waterton rivers in Townships 5 and 6, Range 26, and Township 5, Range 27, all west

of the fourth meridian. Continuing on from the southern border of this lease, Colby, in the name of the Rocky Mountain Cattle Company, received 73,500 acres, Range 25, described as the land between the Belly River and the Waterton River and its north fork, and the northern limit of Township One and extending westward to the western limit of Range 29 W.4. These two leases made up a neat package bounded almost entirely by natural frontiers of rivers or mountains and totalling 106,500 acres.¹⁸ Colby was as determined as Cochrane to get precisely what he wanted. The bother of straightening out the borders of leases he found to be a nuisance and once matters had been arranged between himself, Ogilvie, Brooks and William Mitchell¹⁹ (later senator) of Drummondville, Quebec, he requested of the Department of the Interior: *In order to avoid further annoyance and complication I beg respectfully to request that you will be good enough to give immediate instructions that no further applications be received upon any of the lands mentioned in the enclosed memorandum and that the said lands be included in the list of unopposed applications.*²⁰

If further evidence is needed of the close relationship between these two ranching companies it need

only be noted that the rent for the Eastern Townships Rancho Company was paid in February 1883 not by Brooks, the lessee, but by Colby.²¹

Influence

While this is not the place to discuss the subject in detail, it is evident from the references made thus far, and even more so from a detailed perusal of the relevant files, that influence, particularly political influence, played an open and acknowledged part in the granting of the grazing leases. Forty-six leases were authorized in March 1882 and of those awarded to individuals, a number were Conservative members of Parliament – A. T. H. Williams (killed on the steamer *Northwest* during the Rebellion), D. O. Boudreau, Thomas Temple, D. Ford Jones, and Alexander Shaw – as well as those connected with the Cochrane project. Some, such as Lieutenant Colonel Francis W. DeWinton, the governor general's secretary, had other connections; those of no particular influence themselves found that mountains became molehills with the aid of a friendly MP. In this last situation was Strange whose difficulties dissolved when he obtained help from W. T. Benson, MP, himself a cattle breeder, and Alexander Gunn, MP, who though the Liberal who had personally defeated Macdonald in Kingston in 1878, must have been privately a friend of the prime minister.²² How

much political influence could be found among the directors of the various leases granted to corporate entities makes for interesting speculation if the Cochrane Ranch Company is any guide. Certainly the Allans of Montreal who formed the North-West Cattle Company carried much political weight and so did Captain John Stewart of the Stewart Ranch Company. It cannot be doubted that Macdonald considered the granting of leases of tens of thousands of acres of land as a useful way of paying off political debts or creating new political obligations. The entire procedure was quite open and it must be assumed that such opportunities as this were considered as part of the perquisites of political life.

By the spring of 1882 Cochrane had acquired control, either himself or through friends, of two of the finest ranching areas in the Northwest. Most of the Bow River country between the government reserve around Calgary and the Indian reserve at Morley was in his hands. Though experience was to indicate that the area had its drawbacks, public opinion considered it to be the prime grazing area of the whole Northwest and for the senator to acquire virtually the entire block is an indication of the influence he was able to bring to bear. The southern block, controlled by Colby and Brooks, though isolated,

was obviously a choice area even then and was to become one of the finest ranching locations in the country.

The First Round-Up

The Cochrane Ranch Company again ran into trouble during the spring round-up in 1882 for the hair brands so hastily applied the previous fall had virtually disappeared when the cattle shed their winter coats. To ensure that the company suffered no greater loss than that already endured, McEachran issued specific instructions to Walker to round up every unbranded head on the range and put the Cochrane "C" on it. Assistance was obtained from those settlers already in the vicinity, many of whom were glad to help if only for the chance to socialize. Help they did until they discovered to their dismay that when Walker received an order he carried it out to the letter, in this case even if it meant branding stock which, though identifiably belonging to someone else, was nonetheless considered to be unbranded. The settlers quit in a body and scattered across the range to the many hidden coulees and ravines where in self-defense they began to appropriate calves and unbranded cows and steers, most of which were probably Cochrane stock. A respectable number of animals changed owners in this way. The settlers, who declared that they would have been faced with ruin had they let the

big ranch proceed unchecked, acquired new stock while the Cochrane ranch lost a number of cattle and acquired a harvest of ill-will among the small holders that was a long time dying.²³

Once the losses, about a thousand head, were known, it was possible once again to set out on a buying trip both to continue building up the herd and to replace the dead stock. Early in the spring, Walker went down again to Montana and arranged for the purchase of four or five thousand head from the large ranching outfit of Poindexter and Orr. He was on the point of closing the deal when a wire from McEachran informed him that arrangements had been completed to have I. G. Baker and Company handle the purchase of stock. That company had decided to go into the ranching business and it would be, it was considered, more profitable if the cattle for the two firms were purchased together. On arrival at Fort Benton on his return, Walker received a second wire which to his dismay informed him that the deal with Baker's was off. Hastening back to Poindexter and Orr's, a 300-mile journey, he was informed that in the intervening weeks the price had risen. If he wished to buy the same herd he would have to pay \$25,000 more. That was enough for Walker. He paid the price, but



sent in his resignation to take effect as soon as a replacement could be found, a process that was to last five months.

At that, the deal was not too bad for the contract, signed 16 May 1882, called for the purchase of the herd at \$25 per head. Although this was more than the \$16 paid the previous year, it was the best they were to do for some time for later in the summer they were paying T. C. Bates and F. M. Good \$45 per head, and Baker's \$40 per head.²⁴

Walker himself did well after he left the company. Obviously he had little faith in the management of its affairs, for he withdrew his investment as well as his services. A good

businessman, he took out his equity not in cash but in the form of a saw-mill which he had persuaded the company to build earlier. This proved a wise move, for Calgary was already expanding rapidly and with the arrival of the railway the town was to boom. Those who were in on the ground floor did well indeed.

The Second Drive

There still remained the task of transferring some thousands of Poindexter and Orr cattle north to their new range on the Bow River. The ensuing drive and its sequel proved to be a repeat of the previous year. The herds were driven hard and reached Fish Creek just outside Calgary in September only to be faced with a bitter snowstorm. Bad drifting buried the trail and formed great banks blocking the

weakened animals. Poindexter offered to leave his cowboys for a month if Walker, whose replacement had not yet arrived, would let the cattle stay where they were for that time to recoup their strength, but Walker refused. He had been ordered to get the cattle to the range as soon as possible and insisted on Poindexter delivering them to Big Hill as the contract specified. Accordingly, using some strong local steers to break trail, the herd was driven to Big Hill where Poindexter is reputed to have said "Here they are. I have carried out my contract and delivered at the Big Hill. Count'em now because half of them will be dead tomorrow!"²⁵

The Second Winter

This was the welcome that greeted the new treasurer of the ranch, Francis (Frank) White, who with an experienced cattleman from Virginia, W. D. Kerfoot, was to take over from Walker. White was a capable accountant who had worked with eastern railways, but he had no ranching experience and was described at this initial stage in his new career as "apparently a fish out of water."²⁶ Although he caught on quickly, White was to learn the business the hard way. Kerfoot, a member of a good Virginian family, had drifted west and was

hired by James Cochrane in August at Fort Benton "to take charge of the cattle or other stock."²⁷

Apparently what the directors had in mind was White as a business manager who would make sure that economy was the prime concern with Kerfoot, the practical cattleman, answerable to him. The ranch was, it is clear, a business proposition, not a hobby.

White arrived on the ranch on 17 September, the night one of the first frosts of the season hit, and Kerfoot arrived at about the same time. On 30 September it began to snow on the range, probably the same storm that met the new cattle at Fish Creek. The next few weeks brought miserable weather; steady snow for over a week, then a combination of snow, sleet and rain. By 8 October the trail to Calgary was blocked, though two days later Browning and James Cochrane were able to get through on their way east.²⁸ The new herd, numbering 4,290 head, appeared on 19 October by which time the snow had stopped and been succeeded by bitter cold. Unwilling to get caught again in the spring, White began to brand the new stock on the twenty-fourth, but by the twenty-ninth it had begun to snow again. By 1 November it was

apparent that the Cochrane Rancho Company was in for another bad winter.

*Snowstorm still continues, cattle suffering badly from herding. 3 dead near house, others falling. Concluded to give up the idea of branding and sent cattle down to feed. Killing weak ones for Indians.*²⁹

The rest of the winter was another set-back for the Cochrane herds. For some reason, inexplicable in that both Browning and James Cochrane were at the ranch until October and had seen the condition of the ranges with their own eyes, the order was given to keep the cattle within the bounds of the Cochrane lease.³⁰ All through the winter the village of Calgary was treated to the sight of long strings of bawling cattle walking downstream along the tops of the river banks heading instinctively toward the still open grazing country to the south and east. Always they were driven back to the frozen range. White spent a good deal of the winter travelling around the grazing country trying to buy feed and although he succeeded to a surprising extent, even writing letters to Ottawa to pry local government supplies loose, it was not enough.

Spring was late that year and when the snow finally disappeared in June the herds had been decimated. The extent of the disaster

had been apparent long before this. Early in May Cochrane had observed that

*The past winter has been a particularly severe one on Cattle and the losses sustained by the Company from this cause have been so enormous that if they were to become actually known to the public a very serious blow would be dealt to stock raising in the north west and much injury would result to the Western Country generally.*³¹

A month later the news was even worse.

*Recent letters inform me that our losses are enormous, over three thousand (3,000) head, but we hope that the past winter will prove to have been an exceptional one, and that there may not be such another for many years.*³²

Allowance must be made for the fact that Cochrane was still trying to talk the government into selling him five per cent of the lease and had an interest in crying poverty,³³ but even given overstatement, the directors had evidently had enough. They had probably begun to realize this as soon as the bills for extra feed began to come in from White and had no intention of waiting to see if another winter would be as bad. On his way down to Fort Benton in April 1883 to purchase enough cattle to permit the company to fulfill its contracts, White met the post heading north for MacLeod and Calgary. Among the letters was one from Browning advising him of the company's decision to change the base of its

cattle operations to the area between the Waterton and Belly rivers, south of Fort MacLeod.³⁴

Failure

Of the thousands of cattle imported from the United States, it has been said that by the spring of 1883 something in the vicinity of 4,000 remained.³⁵ This is probably exaggerated, but so devastated were the herds that in order to preserve what was left as well as honour the government contracts, it had been necessary for White to purchase extra stock at Fort Benton. For this they would have to pay: one quotation for 250 steers worked out to \$65 a piece, \$20 more than the price considered extravagant the previous year.³⁶ There was no choice, however; from the herds around the ranch site only 90 steers and 20 barren cows could be found to fill the Indian department commitments.³⁷

At the beginning of May the plans were drawn up for the last round-up, at which time Kerfoot accepted the position of manager at Big Hill — for \$2,500 a year and a house — while White moved down to manage the southern range. White, however, continued to act as treasurer until a new man, A. E. Cross, was appointed in the spring of 1884. At the round-up the cattle were divided into two herds; the first moved out on 7 July, the second shortly afterward.³⁸ One day in July 1885, while doing the laundry

beside Fish Creek, two girls of an English family recently settled in the area became conscious of an approaching deep rumble and in a few minutes a great herd of cattle appeared coming over and down the bank of the other side of the stream. The girls fled as the cattle forded the creek and passed on. When the dust settled, clothes, washboards, everything but a battered tub had disappeared.³⁹ And so disappeared the great herds of cattle from the Cochrane ranch.

The degree to which the failure of the Cochrane ranch affected the Bow River district is witnessed by the fact that it was not until after the turn of the century that the cattle population in the area exceeded that of late 1882.⁴⁰

A number of factors should be considered in assessing responsibility for the ranch's failure. At this time the winters were harder than usual, but it was unfortunate for Cochrane's reputation that other cattle owners in the area suffered no more than the usual losses attendant upon any industry dependent on the vagaries of nature.⁴¹ It is only fair to note here that the suggestion has been made that the small ranchers who were the other occupants of the area were located in more rugged country and that the deep ravines of this area, the Wildcat Hills, provided excellent shelter while the hilltops were blown bare enough to allow cattle to graze.⁴² One can fault Walker for too rigid adherence to his orders when his extensive western experience must have warned him that there would be difficulties. A little flexibility on his part might

have worked wonders. And one must attribute part of the problem to the troubles inevitable in any pioneer operation. The process of sorting out facts from the hyperbole of the publicity about the northwestern grazing lands was bound to be painful.

Nevertheless, Cochrane must be blamed for the failure of the ranch on the Bow River. His unbounded determination, self-confidence and optimism would finally make the Cochrane ranch an outstanding success on its new southern range, both from the point of view of the investor and of the cattle breeder, but led him to minimize the very real difficulties any pioneer operation must face. His interest arose out of the enthusiastic observations of surveyors and explorers which, however sincere, were not based on a solid foundation of long experience in the area. He had preferred their opinion to the opinions of old-timers such as "Kootenai" Brown, a long-time resident of the foothills. Brown had met the senator out on the range during an early scouting trip the latter was making to locate suitable grazing land. Enthusiastically Cochrane told Brown, "We're going to bring in

several thousand head of cattle here. They ought to live where buffalo lived and we should not need to feed them hay in a mild climate like this where you have so little snow." Brown warned him that this was not necessarily true; that buffalo, like sheep, ate grass right to the roots and then, having eaten a range down, moved on, travelling thousands of miles in a season. Buffalo, he went on, stood into a storm whereas cattle would drift with the wind regardless of where it might lead. Finally, he advised cutting hay for the winter, but to no avail for Cochrane only laughed.⁴³

The prevailing simplistic belief was that once one had brought in the necessary cattle, land and climate had combined to such a favourable extent that one need do no more than guide the fat beeves toward the waiting railway cars at marketing time. If in fact the Cochrane outfit really believed, as its spokesman informed the Marquis of Lorne, that the entire vast herd would require so little supervision as to need only 20 hands, then disaster was inevitable.⁴⁴

A major error, and one made not only by Cochrane, was the acceptance of the free-ranging system

within the limits of the lease. As the name implies, the cattle were allowed to wander where they wished within the boundaries of the lease and naturally gravitated toward the best ranges. Consequently these were eaten down in short order, leaving only second-rate grasses for the difficult winter months.

One can fault Cochrane for trying to direct too closely a new enterprise in an unfamiliar environment from half a continent away as well as for the type of direction. At times too much dependence was placed on eastern techniques — cattle at Hillhurst did not wander freely over the entire countryside in winter so they were not allowed to cross the lease boundaries at Big Hill and had to feed on the second-rate grasses left after unmanaged summer grazing. At other times not enough dependence was placed on eastern techniques — although the grass did cure on the stalk and Chinooks often kept the snow cover to a minimum, hay was also required.

In short, it would seem that all the attractive aspects of the Northwest, no matter how they differed from conditions in the East, were accepted with an open mind, but the possible drawbacks, particularly those which involved spending money, were not acknowledged.

Most contemporary opinion blamed Cochrane. Macdonald averred that "his loss of cattle is mainly attributable to his want

of management caused by his parsimony, more so than by the coldness of the climate."⁴⁵ The Honourable D. L. Macpherson said that *I am persuaded that it was mainly owing to the rapid and injudicious manner in which the cattle were driven into the country that the losses of last winter occurred. The cattle had not time to regain their strength before the winter was upon them, and it being unusually severe the mortality among them was consequently great.*⁴⁶

While both Macpherson and Macdonald might be forgiven if they were reluctant to admit that in the Northwest they might after all have drawn a bad hand, their opinions were supported by others less likely to be biased. One of these, Moreton Frewen, observed later that "it was their fault rather than their misfortune — The wonder was handling their herd the way [they] did, that they did not lose the whole."⁴⁷ Alexander Burgess, deputy minister of the Interior, was rather more tactful, but worried about the effect of so many carcasses of Cochrane's cattle on the sensitive eye of the land hunter.⁴⁸

It is to the senator's credit that once the hard lessons were learned on the Bow River, new methods were applied on the southern range. All ranchers had realized that it was

simply not enough to turn the cattle loose on the ranges and expect them to go forth and multiply. This was made abundantly clear by the disastrous winter of 1886-87 where in it became apparent that heavy stock losses were not the sole province of the Cochrane ranch. In the latter part of the 1880s it became increasingly common to put up at least enough hay to feed all the calves over the winter, to erect shelters at strategic points and to yard the cows about to calve. These steps had an impressive effect on the rate of increase and the industry began to approximate the predictions made for it at the beginning of the decade.

Sales and Services

Markets

According to the statements of Cochrane and his associates, the ranch had not been expected to become a profit-making operation before five years had passed; however, it was not intended either that it should be completely unproductive. Part of the incentive to move into beef marketing lay in the natural desire to have at least some income to offset the necessarily large outflow of capital in the pioneer years. There was also a desire to cull the herd of substandard cattle while it was gradually being improved. Finally, it was important to establish a presence in the market quickly in the face of an already firm grip on Canadian government contracts by I. G. Baker and Company of Fort Benton, Montana.

The original market for beef had been provided by the North-West Mounted Police and to this was shortly added the Indian who, with the disappearance of the buffalo, became dependent on that treaty provision under which the Indian Department undertook to feed its wards. Initially these markets were supplied by Baker's who bought all the beef produced, which was not much, and who paid a fair price ranging from \$35 to \$45 per head. (None of this beef was beef of particularly good quality, the theory being that beef was beef and an Indian would not know the difference between an old bull and a prime three-year-old.¹) I. G. Baker and Company paid in cash or in trade at their Calgary store, then

placed their own "Figure 3" brand on the animals and turned them out on the open range until needed.

All this began to change with the establishment of the Cochrane ranch in the vanguard of the ranchers. Undoubtedly the senator used his Ottawa contacts to ensure that Baker's did not long remain the sole supplier of beef. Nor would it be surprising if the government were in fact anxious to develop an alternative and Canadian source of supply.

No time was wasted in getting the first contract. Despite the losses of the first winter and the effect it must have had on the availability of the stock, a contract was signed with the Mounted Police at Calgary to supply 64,000 pounds of beef for one year from 1 July 1882 at 8-3/4 cents per pound.² The price was for beef on the hoof and for the beef only; the hides, heads and feet were sold separately to Baker's.

Another contract was signed for the supply of the Indians which, from the government's point of view made quite clear the benefits of competition. Where Baker's charged 9-1/4 cents per pound to supply the Indian Reserve at Blackfoot Crossing, Cochrane charged 7-3/8 cents; at the Sarcee Reserve, Baker's

got 8-3/4 cents, Cochrane 7-1/8 cents, and at the Morley Reserve, Baker's charged 9-1/4 cents and Cochrane 7-3/8 cents.³

With the advent of the CPR, a new market was opened up for the supply of the construction gangs. The appetite of the workers was such that many Alberta ranchers received their starts from sizeable CPR beef contracts. This did not last beyond the driving of the last spike, but the opening of the railway established new avenues of exploitation. In the first place, the arrival of settlers increased the local market which had formerly played a minor part; secondly, it opened the entire Atlantic community to the Alberta ranches. This second point was the cornerstone on which ranches on such a vast scale had been established, but there was some delay in taking full advantage of it after the railway went through for the bitter winter of 1886-87 had a bad effect on the availability of steers. A sharp drop in prices, however, forced the cattlemen to look about for an expanded market. In late 1887, 700 head were exported to Britain as an experiment and after paying all expenses the shippers realized \$45 per head. This was the beginning of a substantial export trade which proved to be profitable for those ranchers who were willing to make the effort to meet the high standards demanded by British buyers and had the

instinct to judge the sometimes capricious shifts of the international cattle trade. On the other hand, underbred and underfinished cattle always resulted in a loss to the shipper and the arrival of a consignment at the wrong time of year or when the market was glutted could again mean heavy losses.

Shipment of live cattle was a problem in the first years. During the long journey from Calgary or Medicine Hat to Liverpool or Southampton, an animal which had started out a fine specimen of beef on the hoof was likely to arrive at its destination bruised, battered and worried out of hundreds of pounds. Though in the early days the CPR's equipment for shipping stock was minimal, they did their best and the cattle were rushed through as fast as possible. Live shipment nevertheless remained necessary as refrigerators cars were still a thing of the future and consequently speed and a minimum of handling were important to ensure that the animals lost as little weight as possible. McEachran was saying as late as 1907 (at hearings of the Alberta Beef Commission) that while refrigeration would increase the value of beef cattle from 25 to 30 per cent, the difficulties in the way were almost insurmountable.⁴

Local prices were good, the Calgary market ranging between 6-1/2 and 9 cents per pound and in the early days (ca. 1882) reaching as much as 10 cents per pound.⁵ Baker continued to offer good prices, as high as \$32 for two-year-olds and \$40 for three-year-olds. Chicago

prices held fairly steady between 5 and 6 cents and Montreal between 4 and 5 cents.⁶

The marketing situation remained fluid during the tenure of the Cochrane interests at Big Hill and, like many of the pioneer ranchers, the senator seems to have acted as his own sales agent. Smaller ranches, however, did not have the resources to establish markets on the eastern seaboard and overseas, and livestock agents were beginning to dominate the business of cattle marketing by the 1890s. One of the first was the ubiquitous I. G. Baker and Company which filled this function in the earliest years and they were succeeded by Patrick Burns, J. H. Wallace, Gordon and Ironsides, and J. D. McGregor, among the better known.

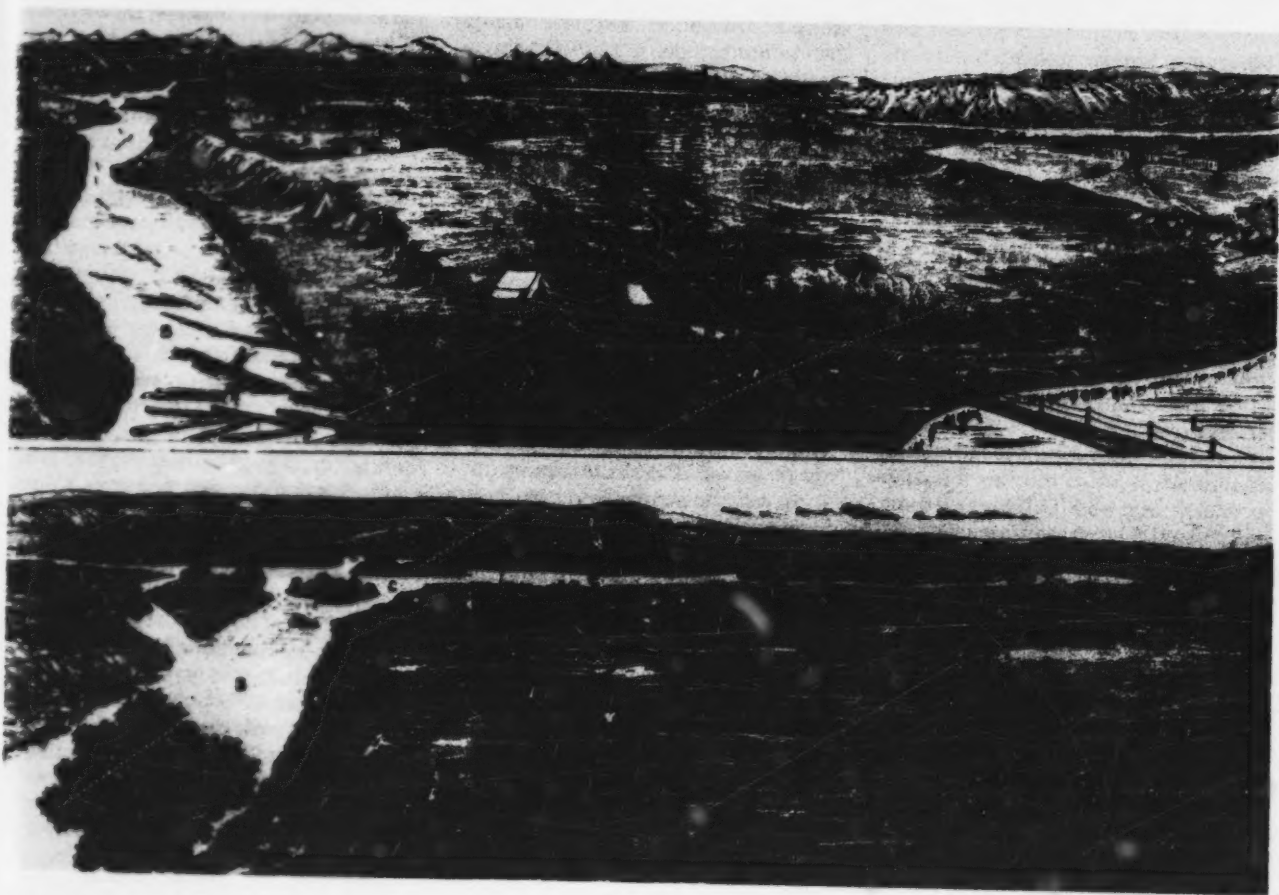
The advent of the Cochrane and other ranches meant a change of a sort for westerners. Before the ranches, beef was just as likely to come from one of the cast-off ox teams of a bull train. Henceforth the grass-fed steer would reign and to those most concerned it must have been a pleasant change indeed.

The Subsidiaries

As the first major commercial enterprise (apart from I. G. Baker and Company) with any amount of capital in the Calgary area, the Cochrane ranch moved to fill part of the vacuum caused by the lack of services in a developing area. Surprisingly enough, considering the

20 Calgary Bottom, 1882, looking west (upper) and north (lower) from Frazer's Hill by General Thomas Bland Strange. A, Catholic mission; B, Elbow River; C, Bow River; D, restaurant; E, I. G. Baker & Co. store; F, old church; G, Cochrane ranch butcher shop; H, Cochrane ranch steam sawmill; I, Fogg's ferry; J, Frazer's Hill; K, N-WMP fort;

L, boom bridge; M, HBC store; N, Captain Denny's house, O, road to Fort MacLeod. (*Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. 26, No. 27 [30 Dec. 1882], p. 421.)



merchant background of so many of the interested parties and the evident future of the town, no attempt was made to exploit or pursue these initial ventures and they shortly disappeared.

The most obvious of these was a butcher shop which served as a retail outfit for the sale of beef to the citizens of Calgary. This enterprise was started at the beginning of ranching operations, probably as a means of bringing in some cash, though with the almost continuous shortage of cattle resulting from the failure of the herds to winter well, it must have strained the corporate resources at times to keep the shop properly supplied. Evidently it was very much a secondary operation as far as Walker was concerned and when White arrived he found the accounts in confusion and had to spend some time in straightening them out. White seems to have considered the retail operations an important part of the business inasmuch as he altered plans for a new company building under construction in Calgary to include a new butcher shop.⁷ Steers for the shop were kept at a camp at Nose Creek and this, plus the Calgary Mounted Police contract, took about 20 head a month.⁸ The Indian Department paid just over 7 cents per pound for its beef, the Mounted Police paid 8-3/4 cents and the patrons of the butcher shop paid 10 cents per pound.⁹ Just how long the butcher

shop continued in operation has not been determined. It would seem unlikely that it survived the transfer of the cattle operations to the southern range.

The other aspect of the company's operations, the sawmill, showed a good deal of foresight in view of Calgary's future. The mill was erected early in 1882 at the instigation of Walker who, since it was too far from the ranch to be of much use there, must have foreseen the need for such an operation with the construction of the CPR and the prospect of settlement. A small steam sawmill was brought out, a manager, Mr. Gilmour, appointed, and a timber concession obtained from the Department of the Interior. Walker's business sense was apparent on his requesting at his resignation that in return for his equity in the company, the sawmill be turned over to him. This was done at a mutually agreed upon valuation of \$15,000.¹⁰ In a remarkably short time Walker had a contract for 750,000 ties for the CPR, was supplying lumber for Cochrane ranch buildings, and over the next few years supplied much of the timber for the early trestles erected by the CPR.

The British American Rancho Company

Regrouping

Cochrane had reserves and an alternative plan and as soon as it became apparent that disaster had struck for the second winter in succession, he began to deploy the resources he had been husbanding.

On 21 March 1883 Cochrane was assigned the leases of the Eastern Townships Rancho Company and the Rocky Mountain Cattle Company held by his political confrères, Brooks and Colby.¹ In addition, lease No. 26 held by Gagné, Pratt and Company and totalling 64,000 acres was assigned to James Cochrane. These three assignments received cabinet approval on 17 April and provided the Cochrane ranch with 170,500 acres of grazing land running southwest from Fort MacLeod between the Peigan and Blood Indian reserves, and between the Belly and Waterton rivers to a line of latitude just south of the present town of Cardston and close to the international boundary. This actually did not effect the possession of the company's lease of 100,000 acres or so of grazing land along the Bow River and it is a commentary on the senator's determination that although he claimed to have personally lost over \$100,000 on his Canadian ranching operations,² there seems to have been no question of abandoning the leases. With \$15 to \$20 thousand tied up in fencing and buildings alone, he had no intention of writing it off.³

All that was therefore required was an about-face on the subject of sheep ranching to which he had

been so firmly opposed two years before and this switch was accomplished without much trouble. As early as March it had become evident to Cochrane that the Bow River leases were "better adopted for a hardier animal like the sheep," and examples in Montana could be quoted to show that if the technique known as "close herding" were adopted, flocks of sheep might graze in cattle lands without the anticipated damage occurring.⁴ Again the forces were marshalled and Colby, who had previously protested strongly against the grazing of sheep, was persuaded to state that there was ample room in the Northwest for both cattle and sheep ranchers.⁵

This conversion prompted a few cynical remarks from David Lewis Macpherson, the new minister of the Interior, and Macdonald.⁶ The prime minister, moreover, was getting a little edgy on the subject of ranching companies.

Some 8 or 9 companies got Ranches on giving the assurance that they were both able and willing to stock them. It turns out that they all lied and merely got their leases for the purpose of selling them. . . . These speculators [he was not referring to Cochrane] now club together to make one large Company with a range [?] the size of a province to speculate upon, and propose to hawk this around in England.⁷

Cochrane, however, was immune to difficulties. They could be swept away in no time. He wanted to

raise sheep, he wanted to do it with no restrictions on numbers, and if Sir Joseph Pope, the prime minister's secretary, would kindly arrange a meeting with Macdonald, all could be arranged in a very few minutes.⁸ Though it took nearly four months of continual nagging from the end of March until the beginning of July, the Department of the Interior finally gave in and on 11 July the company was informed that they might graze sheep on the Bow River leases on condition that they place five head of sheep for every ten acres.⁹

There seems, however, to have been a *quid pro quo* involved, in that this concession was seized upon as justification for finally rejecting Cochrane's claim that the company should be allowed to purchase five per cent of its leasehold, which claim he had been pressing vigorously up to this point. However much of an *non sequitur* the comment may seem, Macpherson observed that, in view of Cochrane's desire to withdraw his cattle and replace them with sheep, the company had therefore lost all claim to purchase five per cent of the leasehold.¹⁰ The senator may have accepted this as part of a bargain; certainly the flow of letters on the

subject from himself or his agents stopped once he received permission to graze sheep.

This, however, did not solve the entire sheep-versus-cattle question and the matter was the subject of much debate in the grazing country where a number of persons were expressing keen interest in sheep raising. Petitions pro and con were forwarded to Ottawa: the South Western Stock Association of Fort MacLeod urged that sheep not be permitted in its territory: 124 residents of the Sheep Creek and High River areas asked that sheep not be banned from their district.¹¹ During a visit to the Northwest in the summer of 1884 the deputy minister of the Interior, Burgess, discussed the subject with various interested parties and the result was the formulation of a new policy. Henceforth sheep were free to graze without permit in the territory north of the Highwood and Bow rivers, while south of that line the grass was reserved for cattle alone.¹²

Unlike the American situation, the bitterness between sheepmen and cattlemen never developed to any great extent although it was certainly there and from available evidence it would seem that the boundary arrived at was mutually satisfactory. The decision is perhaps most interesting for the purposes of this

21 Living quarters of the British American ranch, circa 1886. Ernest B. Cochrane on the couch. (Glenbow-Alberta Institute.)



paper insofar as it reflects the decline in favour of the Bow River district in the eyes of cattlemen. In 1881 it had been considered the prime cattle grazing country by experts and investors. After two disastrous winters for the Cochrane stock, its abandonment to sheep raised scarcely a murmur from the big ranchers whose centre was now Fort MacLeod.

Establishment

As soon as matters were well in hand on the new range at Fort MacLeod, attention was turned once more to the Bow River leases and in February 1884 a new company, the British American Ranche Company, was incorporated to handle

them. The new company did not arrive in a very happy atmosphere for the collapse of cattle ranching at Big Hill after two costly years had led to strains in shareholder relationships and management in both the East and the West. At Big Hill the capable Kerfoot had threatened to resign in January 1884, probably over disagreements with Montreal. In Montreal the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Cochrane Ranche Company in February 1884 was characterized by some bitter in-fighting. McEachran at one point accused White, Browning and Cochrane of holding private meetings on company business behind his back, while Browning and Cochrane accused McEachran of doing all he could in his power to ruin the credit of the company and by his

conceit and pomposity hindering his own advancement.¹³ The meeting was generally an unpleasant one and one of its accomplishments was a surreptitious move to dismiss White. This came to nothing when McEachran refused to co-operate.¹⁴ In the end it was left to Cochrane to remark tactfully while he was out West in July that the directors would be glad if White would relieve them of the expense of management as soon as he could do so without loss to himself.¹⁵ The implication seems to be that White was a scapegoat for the company's difficulties. He had already been replaced as treasurer that spring by A. E. Cross.

On a more constructive level, this particular meeting made arrangements to dispose of the Cochrane ranch holdings to its new corporate entity, the British American Ranche Company.¹⁶ The new company may have been formed more from the necessity of preserving the government from embarrassment than any other reason for under the terms of its charter the Cochrane Ranche Company could have raised sheep and horses without the necessity of another incorporation. In strictly legal terms, the statutory limit of 100,000 acres per lessee was not encroached upon as the over one-quarter million acres controlled by the Cochrane Ranche Company around Calgary and around Fort MacLeod was held in the name of a variety of separate individuals and corporate entities. Nevertheless, perhaps for political reasons or possibly as a means of raising new capital, the company was established which had the effect of whitening the acreage down to a size

22 Konrad, foaled in 1874 by Rebel Morgan and brought in with Cochrane's first herds, was the first thoroughbred in Alberta. (L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men: The Story of the Ranchers and Indians of Alberta* [Toronto: Briggs, 1913].)

more in keeping with the spirit of the law.

On 19 January 1884 Cochrane, Hugh MacKay, William V. Lawrence, William Cassils, Charles Cassils and William Ewing, all but Cochrane residents of Montreal, submitted a petition for Letters Patent of Incorporation for the purposes of "breeding and rearing of horses, mules, sheep, cattle and swine" in the North-West Territories. The proposed capital was \$200,000 to be divided into 2,000 shares of \$100 each of which 1,030 were subscribed by the petitioners. The largest shareholder was William Cassils with 420 shares, but 400 of these were held in trust. The senator held 300 and his son-in-law, Charles Cassils, held 50.¹⁷

The required letters patent were granted on 5 February and two weeks later on 19 February the new company bought the Bow River leases from the Cochrane Ranch Company for \$55,000.¹⁸

The way was not all clear yet for the Department of the Interior of 1884 was not the relatively compliant institution of 1881. In March 1885, following the example of the parent company, the British American Ranch Company filed assignments for leases totalling 89,000 acres. This covered the 60,000 acres of the original Cochrane lease, the 55,000 acres of ranch No. 44 originally leased to Haynes and in December 1882 assigned by him to Browning and the 33,000 acres of ranch No. 43 leased to A. W. Ogilvie and assigned by

him to the Cochrane Ranch Company in June 1884.¹⁹ Once these assignments were filed, the department consulted the Department of Justice on the legality of registering them. The Justice Department replied that whatever the original intent of the legislation, nothing specifically forbade the assignment of leases.²⁰ Accordingly, approval was given on 26 May 1885.

Horses

The British American Ranch Company had been incorporated for nearly a year before it took possession of the leases. In the interim,

between the time the cattle left and the British American Ranch Company became an active operation, Kerfoot introduced an aspect which had hitherto played a minor role — horse ranching.

By June 1883 about 490 horses were on the range south of the Bow²¹ and over the next few years these were built into a good-sized herd: 550 head in May 1885 and 609 by September of that year. In November 1886 after the purchase of the "Harper Band,"²² one of the finest herds in the West and



- 23 A band of sheep on the British American ranch,
circa 1885-88. (*Glenbow-Alberta Institute.*)
24 Baling wool on the British American ranch, circa
1885-88. (*Glenbow-Alberta Institute.*)

probably from the Gang ranch in British Columbia, the horses, now legally part of the British American Rancho Company, reached their peak in numbers — 1,013. A year later there were 964 horses and at the time of the sale of the assets and transfer of part of the lease to the Bow River horse ranch in August 1888 there were 920 horses.²³ The number of pure-bred stallions imported to raise the quality of the stock began with four, two thoroughbreds and two Clydesdales. This was increased in 1885 by four half-bred Percherons and then, with the addition of the Harper band in 1886, to a total of eight thoroughbreds and six half-breds, with an emphasis on the Clydesdales and Percherons. At the time of the sale there were nine thoroughbreds and one half-bred.

Horse ranching became a major part of the British American Rancho Company's operations and to handle it the lease was in effect divided in half. Buildings and corrals were erected on the south bank of the Bow River where Jumpingpound Creek debouches. This involved the expenditure of a fair amount of capital so it is evident that a good return was expected.

The demand it was intended to supply was a mixed one. It is evident from the proportion of heavy draught animals among the stallions that much of the market was expected to be homesteaders looking for farm

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animals to pull plows and wagons. Cowboys' interest was expected and great hopes were placed in the need of the North-West Mounted Police for remounts. However, none of these markets developed to any great extent. Settlement lagged even after the completion of the CPR and the expected population explosion simply did not occur for another decade. Cowboys were a limited market and initially it proved exceedingly difficult to persuade the Mounted Police to buy their horses locally rather than from eastern breeders. The effort was hardly worthwhile. The decision to dispose of the Bow River properties was taken in late 1887 and the buildings, implements, lease and lands of the horse-ranching operation south of the Bow River were sold to the Bow River Horse Ranch Company.²⁴

Sheep

In stocking the new sheep ranch, the same procedure was followed as had been used for starting a cattle herd: foundation stock was imported from the western United States, mostly Montana and Wyoming, and purebred rams were brought in to gradually raise the quality through careful breeding. The American stock was mostly Merino and Rambouillet in background, crossed with Shropshires or Oxfordshires.²⁵ In April 1884, along with the announcement of the purchase of the Bow River operations, the British American Ranch Company also stated its intention of importing some 3,000 sheep.²⁶ The actual number imported, however, may have been rather more, somewhere between

7,000 and 8,000 depending on which of the available figures are used.²⁷ The purebred stock consisted of some 2,000 Shropshire rams which arrived on the ranch in mid-October.²⁸

The usual jinx seemed to be operating when the arrival of the sheep was signalled by a heavy snowstorm, but then the situation began to improve. For one thing, the sheep had been driven slowly and were in good shape — "fat as butter" was one comment.²⁹ For another, despite the early snowstorm, the winter of 1884–85 was the kind that the publicists wrote about — mild and open — so the sheep were able to forage on their own, requiring no hay until February. By mid-February the snow had vanished, the streams and springs were re-opening, and the sheep had come through splendidly. Thus far the operation gave every prospect of bearing out the hopes of its promoters and of the deputy minister of the Interior, Burgess, who felt that it was bound to become a valuable industry within a very short time.³⁰

With all this cheerful outlook after the successful wintering of the herd had become a matter for public comment, disaster struck when a prairie fire caught some of the sheep and 400 died in the flames.³¹ It was a bitter blow and Kerfoot stated publicly that the fire had been deliberately set in order to damage the stock. Nothing more was heard of

this charge, but it was an indication that the emotions which sparked bitter range wars in the United States were not entirely absent from the Canadian experience.

Nor was this the last misfortune. L. V. Kelly records that a corral into which had been herded a large flock of sheep was drifted in during a late snowstorm, allowing the sheep to wander off over the fence. Driven by the storm, they headed across country until they came to a deep slough three miles away and there 300 drowned. Another heavy loss is said to have occurred at lambing when "hundreds and hundreds" of ewes died giving birth.³²

Possibly because of these misfortunes, Browning qualified the company's commitment to stock the range with the statement that the sheep had been placed on the range, "with a view to testing the fitness of that . . . section for sheep grazing."³³ Late spring saw the company with about 8,000 sheep which may or may not represent an increase as two sets of figures are available for the number of sheep actually imported. Even after the main lambing season was well over, the size of the flock had increased to only 8,200. The sheep ranching operations of the British American Ranch Company never developed beyond this stage. In late 1866 there were 7,525 sheep on the ranch, the

following year, 7,439, and in 1888, 8,570.³⁴ Proposals to erect a woolen mill near Calgary did not come to fruition until long after they were first made in 1883³⁵ and the wool clip, which in the first season amounted to 50,000 pounds, was sent to Montreal for disposal.³⁶

Though the British American operations, both sheep and horse, never suffered the major setbacks of its predecessor on the site, there was never any of that run of good fortune so necessary in the initial years of a new operation. Management troubles persisted and in 1887 Kerfoot resigned. It appears to have been the same old story of conflicts between an eastern-based management and a western operation and many disagreements arose when directors' decisions had unhappy results for which Kerfoot received the blame.

Kerfoot's resignation was a stormy one and he eventually sued the company successfully for the remainder of the salary due on his five-year contract.³⁷ Nevertheless, he remained bitter over what he considered his bad treatment by the management. He went into ranching in partnership with his father-in-law, W. Bell Irving, just west of the British American ranch lease, and prospered. He died in 1910 in the parade of the Spring Stock Show in Calgary when his horse fell and crushed him.³⁸ His replacement as manager was Ernest Cochrane,

the senator's youngest son, who might be expected to be more amenable than his predecessors to direction from Montreal.

There were other problems. L. V. Kelly mentions such things as disease, bad water, unfortunate accidents, thieves and storms.³⁹ One major difficulty was presented by wolves which, deprived of the buffalo, found a welcome substitute in the herds of cattle and sheep which replaced them. The company kept a pack of wolfdogs which proved useful in controlling the wolves, but losses remained high.⁴⁰

Possibly of more moment than the various handicaps imposed by nature were those imposed by man, of which two, rental and markets, will be noted briefly and the third, instability of the leases, discussed in some detail. In 1885 the rental of the leased lands had been doubled from one cent to two cents per acre. When dealing in tens of thousands of acres, such a rise was not insignificant although even by the standards of the day the rental still seems a bargain.⁴¹ Though it roused the protests of George Stephen, president of the CPR, who saw one of the few prospects of long-haul freight diminishing before his railway had scarcely got up steam, the Department of the Interior stood firm.

As far as markets were concerned, the company had the misfortune to enter the field just as Australia was rapidly developing into the leading wool and mutton producer in the world. Between 1881 and 1891 the number of sheep in Australia increased from 78 million to

125 million and concurrently the price of wool dropped to a level that made life difficult for Canadian producers.⁴² William Pearce summed up the situation in Alberta as it stood in 1889.

*The low price of wool has retarded this industry, which when prosecuted on a large scale does not appear to have been a highly paying enterprise; at the same time, in every case where a settler has not had more sheep than he could personally look after — that is a flock of from 500 to 2,500 — it has proved most profitable.*⁴³

Assaults on the Leasehold

Probably the most serious and certainly the most interesting of the problems which led to the winding up of the British American Ranch Company were those connected with maintaining the leasehold intact, a problem which remained insurmountable not just for the Cochrane interests, but also for every rancher in the Northwest. Two forces were acting to break up the leases: the corporate interests of the CPR and the Hudson's Bay Company, and the individual interests of the homesteader-squatter. Of the two, the CPR and the Hudson's Bay Company were acceptable because they operated from a statutory basis and acceptance of their land claims

was inherent in signing a lease, but the squatter was dangerous because he acted outside the law, considering it of no account in the face of his land hunger.

The CPR had been granted 25 million acres of land in the Northwest which its agents were to choose from the odd-numbered sections and the Hudson's Bay Company received, in addition to a cash settlement, 1/20 of the land in the fertile belt. The Cochrane leases stood athwart the main railway line as it was announced in September 1882 and the CPR and the Hudson's Bay Company were well aware of this convenient location. Hence the lands were a prime target and considerable areas were turned over to the two companies. Up to 1 November 1886 this had totalled 37,160 acres and over the next two years the total mounted rapidly until, by 1 May 1888, a total of 116,394 acres were withdrawn from the operation of the lease.⁴⁴ This was not the set-back it might seem for the companies had no intention of disposing of them immediately and were quite content to continue leasing arrangements. Nevertheless, over the ranching company's objections,⁴⁵ they had now to pay rent to at least two different masters, the government and the companies, one of whom might dispose of its holdings at any time with a minimum of notice. Ownership of half of

its leasehold by a private corporation, while it does not seem to have hampered the ranching operations in any way, added one more element of insecurity to those which already existed.

Of a much more serious nature were the actions of the agricultural squatters who plagued every large ranching outfit in the Northwest. Squatters were living proof of the adage, "The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence." It is difficult to support their actions, especially in the early years before the turn of the century. With countless millions of acres of some of the finest agricultural land in the world free for the asking between Winnipeg and the Rockies on fulfilment of minimal conditions, some individuals headed straight across the empty prairies to the reserved grazing leases. There they settled on some spring or stream, declaring that no other spot would do and that anyone who suggested they move elsewhere was a tyrant and a despot.

In resolving this problem, MacDonald's government was of very little help for, though the leaseholders clearly had the law on their side, the towns, which resented any restriction on settlement and hence business, and the settlers represented heavy political pressure. The government learned early that any strong action was interpreted as aiding vested interests in suppressing the "little man." Worse still, in its immigration propaganda it had consistently given the impression that every single acre in the Northwest was available for homesteading.

The problem was compounded by the fact that while many of the squatters seem to have been genuinely interested in settlement, others were well aware of their own nuisance value and in many cases they made it clear that they would be willing to move on if they were compensated for their "improvements."

The first open challenge to the position of the lessees came early. At a settlers' meeting held in Ellis's billiard hall in Calgary on 10 October 1882, called to discuss the system of reserving land from settlement for ranches, townsite reserves or Indian reserves, a resolution was carried unanimously which stated, among other things, *That whereas the Dominion Government has seen fit to grant leases for cattle ranges already, covering nearly all the good agricultural land in the best portion of the proposed Province of Alberta. . . . That it is also the opinion of this meeting that the provision in the leases empowering and compelling the lessees of cattle ranges to prevent the location of settlers upon the land so leased, is objectionable and contrary to the best interests of the country.*⁴⁶

The most interesting feature of this resolution was the fact that its mover, E. A. Baynes, was Cochrane's son-in-law. While he and Cochrane

never got along well,⁴⁷ it seems unlikely, at least at this early stage when his connection with the Cochrane ranch was close, that Baynes would have moved such a resolution without the senator being in some way aware of what he was doing. Certainly he would be representing the views of the Cochrane ranch when he objected to an amendment to his resolution (which nevertheless received an overwhelming majority) that the ranchers be given two years' notice.⁴⁸

There is a possible explanation for the anomalous position taken by Baynes in moving his resolution. Slightly rephrased, it would in fact approximate the position of the Cochrane ranch and the other working ranches as well. In an 1884 interview Browning stated the company's position at that time. *While the ranchmen claim that they have the entire rent of the land leased to them, they have no desire to exclude bona fide settlers from such portions of their leases which may not be necessary for grazing purposes. The trouble heretofore has been in squatters, not settlers, going upon choice hay lands, valuable river fronts, and lands with springs which are absolutely necessary for cattle during winter, with no intention of settling, but with the object of being bought off or selling their pretended rights to innocent settlers. What the ranchmen think they are entitled to is that parties desiring to settle upon their leases should ask and receive permission to do so*

*before attempting to take possession, and where there is not good reason for refusing their request, they may rely upon being allowed to occupy the land.*⁴⁹

As expressed, this viewpoint was reasonable enough to appeal to the new deputy minister of the Interior, A. N. Burgess, on his first trip to the Northwest during the summer of 1884. While in the grazing district he discussed the question with a number of the lessees and found all but one or two in favour of the location of settlers on the leases. He concluded that despite efforts to create an impression to that effect, no necessary or natural conflict existed between the agricultural settlers and the grazing leaseholder. He illustrated his contention with reference to the problems of the Cochrane herds, suggesting that had there been scattered throughout the lease from 50 to 100 settlers engaged in mixed farming from whom hay could have been purchased, a large proportion of the cattle lost might have been saved. Aside from that, the presence of settlers would mean a ready supply of extra help at round-up time. On the other hand, he noted firmly, those who trespassed on the leases with the idea of going into competition with the lessee, probably using his bulls and stealing a few calves now and then or with the intent of extorting some consideration for leaving, deserved no sympathy.⁵⁰

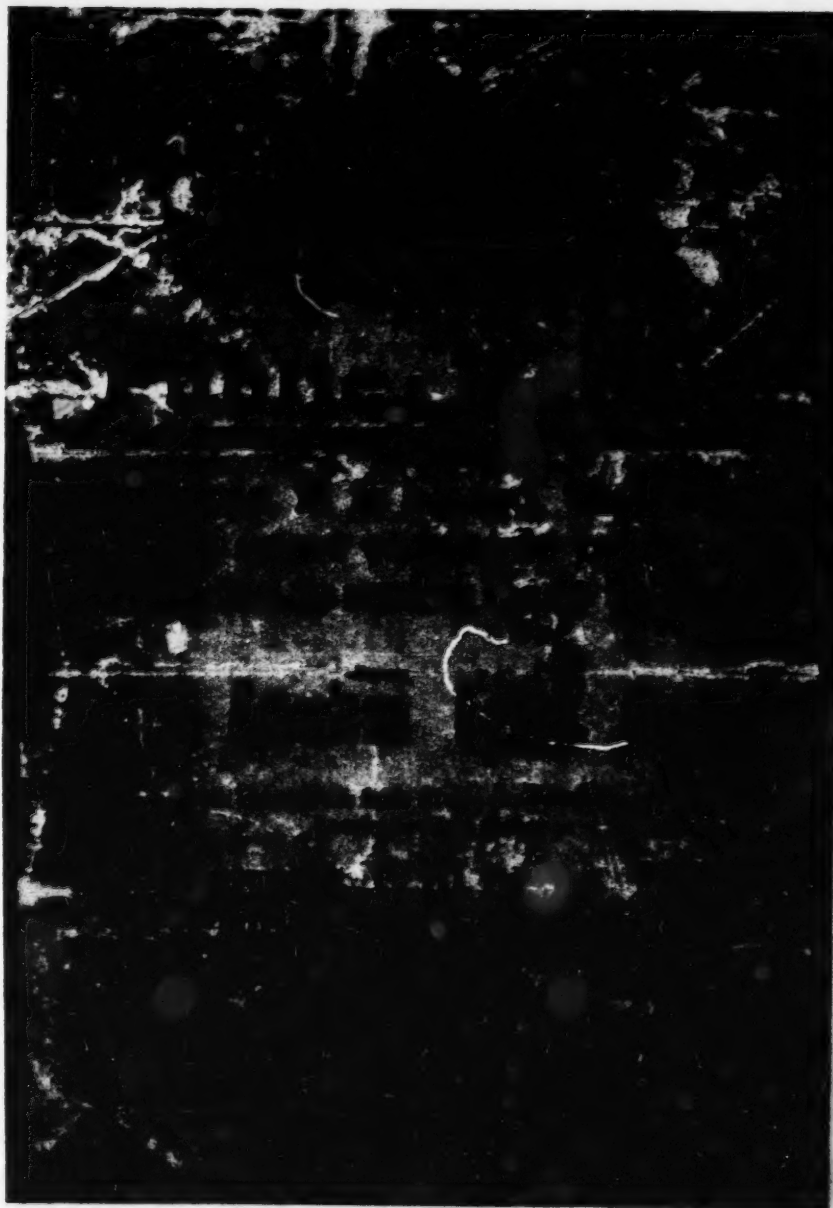
So eminently reasonable was this view that Macdonald accepted it. It was absurd, he said, to suppose a great industry which would supply the remainder of the Northwest with their stock cattle could be allowed

to be destroyed at the mere caprice of a few squatters. The government would not, he continued, allow its policy in this matter to be impeded by every squatter who chose to come in on these lands when there was plenty of land in other parts of the country.⁵¹

Unhappily for the ranchers, this was about as far as government action went and despite the fine words they were left pretty much to deal with the situation as it arose. In these early years the ranchers almost invariably eschewed violence and resorted to legal proceedings or else made the required payment for "improvements." Hence in May 1883 White bargained with a couple of squatters named Heath and Jones who had settled on the southern range. White offered them \$800 to get off, but they held out and received \$1,000 "for their improvements."⁵² This attitude, in sharp contrast to the direct action with gun or rope so common in the United States, is at least partly explained by the prevailing philosophy of law and order. At one time rustlers were flourishing in the Pincher Creek area and a group of ranchers met to discuss the menace. The identity of the culprits was suspected and many felt that action should be taken; lynching was one remedy suggested and feeling was running high. At this point one of the leading men, F. W. Godsal, said, "But, gentlemen, the British just don't settle matters in this way." To this there could be no argument: the meeting ended and they all went home.⁵³

As the railway grew closer, however, would-be settlers became more frequent and tempers grew shorter. Whether for blackmail or for farming purposes, the settlers picked the finest locations on springs and river flats. By 1887 25 miles of continuous fence between Fort Kipp and Slide Out on the Belly River shut out the range cattle from the water and the shelter of the valley.⁵⁴

The attitude of sweet reasonableness which had prevailed did not interest those eager for land. No matter how polite the procedure, an eviction was an eviction and all of those whose title to their land was vague watched with increasing uneasiness as ranchers exerted themselves to maintain their leases inviolate. The resentment of squatters and settlers at the refusal of the government or the ranchers to concede immediately what was considered to be the "right" of homestead entry boiled to the surface in a meeting held at the farm of John Glenn on 5 April 1885 at which was formed the Alberta Settlers Rights Association. In the language of outrage their spokesman, Samuel Livingstone, telegraphed the resolve of the meeting to Sir John A. Macdonald. All the townships about Calgary ought to be immediately thrown open for homestead entry and settlement and settlers therein who had complied with the normal



homestead requirements should be granted their patents "immediately." Further, settlers ought to be allowed to import cattle on the same terms as the lessees; that is, free. To reinforce their demands and indicating the depth of feeling over the issue, the meeting concluded by pressing for immediate action "to prevent repetition of the trouble which now unhappily exists in these Territories" and resolved further "that the halfbreeds in these Territories are entitled to and should receive the same privileges as regards lands as have already been conceded to their brethren in Manitoba."⁵⁵ Coming little more than a week after the confrontation at Duck Lake which heralded the Northwest Rebellion, such language was extreme indeed, though it was more temperate than John Glenn's threat uttered at the meeting to hold his land "with a shot gun."⁵⁶

In a sense, however, the result was a degree of success for the government made immediate, if discreet, inquiries through local contacts. The information received tended to discount the Alberta Settlers Rights Association as a front for lawyers and merchants,⁵⁷ but actions of the government thenceforth with regard to the leases indicate that they had recognized the political strength if not the legal validity of the settlers' complaints.

The years between 1885 and 1892 were bad ones for the ranchers. The two men who occupied the post of minister of the Interior during that period, Thomas White and Edgar Dewdney, were inclined to favour the settler. One of White's

first moves was to revise the terms under which grazing leases were held. This was done, interestingly enough, simply by ministerial order despite, or perhaps because of, its very considerable significance.⁵⁸ This procedure avoided the requirements to publicly proclaim an order in council or act of parliament. Under its provisions, on leases granted in future, homesteaders were entitled to take up land on the same terms as on Dominion lands and to settle without first receiving permission of the lessees. Furthermore, no more grazing leases would be approved for as long as 21 years and old leases would be cancelled whenever opportunity offered. The old leases, however, were not abrogated unilaterally but remained in force and settlers were still required to seek permission if they wished to settle. This requirement, however, seems to have become increasingly a dead issue, so much so that Dewdney (then lieutenant governor of the North-West Territories) was said to have told those settlers who asked his advice to go ahead and settle on the leases and the ranchers would not attempt to turn them off.⁵⁹

The British American Ranch Company found itself in an unenviable position with the eastern borders of its lease within a few miles of the mushrooming town of Calgary. The position was made more awkward on account of "many citizens of Calgary being agitators against leaseholders."⁶⁰ Accordingly under some pressure from the Department of the Interior which in turn was under much pressure from settlers, the British American ranch

agreed to give up Township 24, Range 2, the area of the lease closest to Calgary.⁶¹ Delay in implementing this agreement, reached in late summer 1886, aroused fierce resentment among settlers "who pinned their faith to the promises of a cabinet minister who is supposed to be an honorable gentleman."⁶² The minister was asked rhetorically, "how it comes that one company hold [*sic*] 80,000 acres of leased land, lying waste, with the conditions unfilled, when good settlers are being refused 160 acres each" and it was suggested that Albertans would like to know "which the government desire to have in Alberta, bullocks and wethers, or settlers."⁶³

The minister, however, was hardly neglecting the interests of the settlers for at the end of March 1887 he was pressing Cochrane to relinquish an additional township.⁶⁴ Cochrane agreed, extracting in return a promise that the department would do its best to protect his rights to the balance of the lease. The minister himself wrote: *The promptness with which your Company gave up the two townships in order to remove difficulties with settlers, makes me feel very anxious to protect you, so far as the Government can, in your remaining territory, and you may depend, therefore, upon our doing whatever is properly within our power.*⁶⁵

He was to have plenty of opportunity to indicate the extent of his power for Browning had just submitted a bitter complaint about the activities and attitudes of the

squatters. According to Ernest Cochrane, who was now the manager,

*Morrison was out among some of the settlers the other day, pretending to be looking for land — he asked one man if the B.A.R.C. Coy would not turn him off if he settled on their lease and the fellow's answer was "Oh, show them a box of matches and they will leave you alone" and then proceeded to tell how he was on one of the Townships lately thrown open, but if he had not got his entry before long he would have done some burning.*⁶⁶

It is unfortunate that at this juncture the company would seem to have overstated their case, or rather had not undertaken to properly document it. That summer Burgess visited the Northwest and made a point of thoroughly investigating the complaints in Browning's letter. In June and in July he paid separate visits to the range in company with Ernest Cochrane and the superintendent of mines, William Pearce. Unhappily for the company's credibility, all that was located, aside from some empty houses which were possibly not even on the range, was one squatter. On speaking to the man, nobody was more surprised than Ernest Cochrane to learn that the man was on an odd-numbered section that he had bought from the CPR after the ranch company had declined to buy it. About all this trip netted the ranch company was the frosty observation from Burgess that "The officers of the Rancho Com-

pany should inform themselves much more definitely in regard to the position of the trespassers they complain of before any action on the part of the Department would be justified."⁶⁷

Much more damaging from the long-range point of view was Burgess's advice to the minister that it would be difficult to defend warning trespassers to move from even-numbered sections in the more remote and less used portions of the leasehold in the face of the fact that the company had refused to purchase an odd-numbered section in part of the range which was valuable for its hay.⁶⁸

This was unfortunate for the company and indeed for the future of the big ranches for, as subsequent events make clear, squatters certainly were on the land and were to cause a great deal of trouble. It is not improbable that this incident coloured the department's attitude for some time to come. The Department of the Interior did, however, go so far as to approve a warning to would-be squatters that no claims to land on the British American ranch's lease would be recognized. This notice was drawn up by William Pearce as the result of a meeting between Ernest Cochrane and the minister on 20 August 1887⁶⁹ and widely distributed by the company as well as published in the newspaper, but to no avail. Though Pearce, the department's man on the spot, became increasingly sympathetic,⁷⁰ in the end it made little difference.

By the fall of 1888 some 15 squatters on the lease had openly taken possession of choice portions.

A petition in their favour was being circulated in Calgary under the benevolent eye of D. W. Davis, Conservative MP for Alberta, and it was signed by every leading citizen and merchant;⁷¹ the Calgary press had been producing indignant editorials championing the little man versus the big company⁷² and on 3 August 1888 Dewdney succeeded to the post of minister of the Interior after seven years as lieutenant governor of the Northwest. Dewdney made no secret about his desire to people the Northwest with industrious homesteaders and in his view hundreds of thousands of acres locked up in grazing leases would accomplish nothing toward that end. Publicly the department was as committed as ever to support the legal rights of all parties, but privately the outlook was not good for the lessees. Although the squatters' case was legally shaky, they were evidently in his favour. Concerning the petition of the squatters on the British American ranch, Burgess (who invariably reflected the prejudices of his superiors) advised Dewdney, "It is quite clear that if we are to touch this case at all in the interests of the settlers, it must be by way of a compromise."⁷³

Withdrawal

By this time, however, the British American Rancho Company and the Cochrane family were well on their way to withdrawing entirely from the

26 Bow River horse ranch, west of Calgary, circa 1885-88. (Glenbow-Alberta Institute.)

27 William F. Cochrane, "manager of the Cochrane Ranch until it sold out to the Mormons." (L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men: The Story of the Ranchers and Indians of Alberta* [Toronto: Briggs, 1913].)

Bow River, a decision which had been made by November 1887 if not before. At the annual meeting of the shareholders on the eighth of that month the directors were authorized to sell, transfer or otherwise dispose of the assets of the company and wind up its affairs.⁷⁴ By June 1888 all the horses and the buildings, implements and lands south of the Bow River had been sold to the Bow River Horse Ranch Company, an outfit financed and managed by a group of English capitalists. The area remaining in this part of the lease amounted to about 23,788 acres and its assignment was approved by the cabinet in January of the following year (Fig. 29).⁷⁵

In June 1888 the senator had still evidently intended to keep his hand in by some means and he took steps to retain, in the name of the British American ranch, part of the lease north of the Bow, Township 26, Ranges 2 and 3, and Township 25, Range 2, the rest to be given up for settlement. Despite these adjustments in January 1889, the government was still pressing in favour of settlers and Burgess suggested that the company be asked to give up that part of their tract lying nearest Calgary.⁷⁶ Since they had just given up three townships, this further request, made when Cochrane was in Ottawa for the opening of Parliament, may have

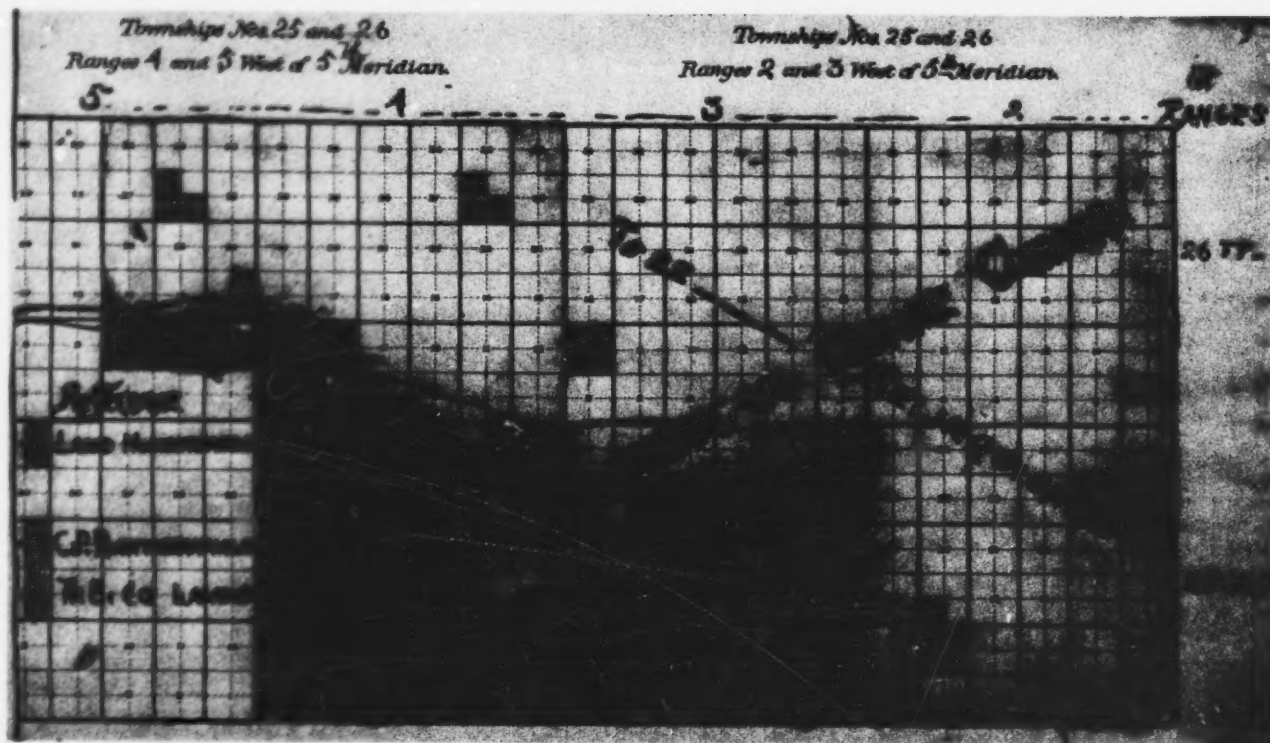
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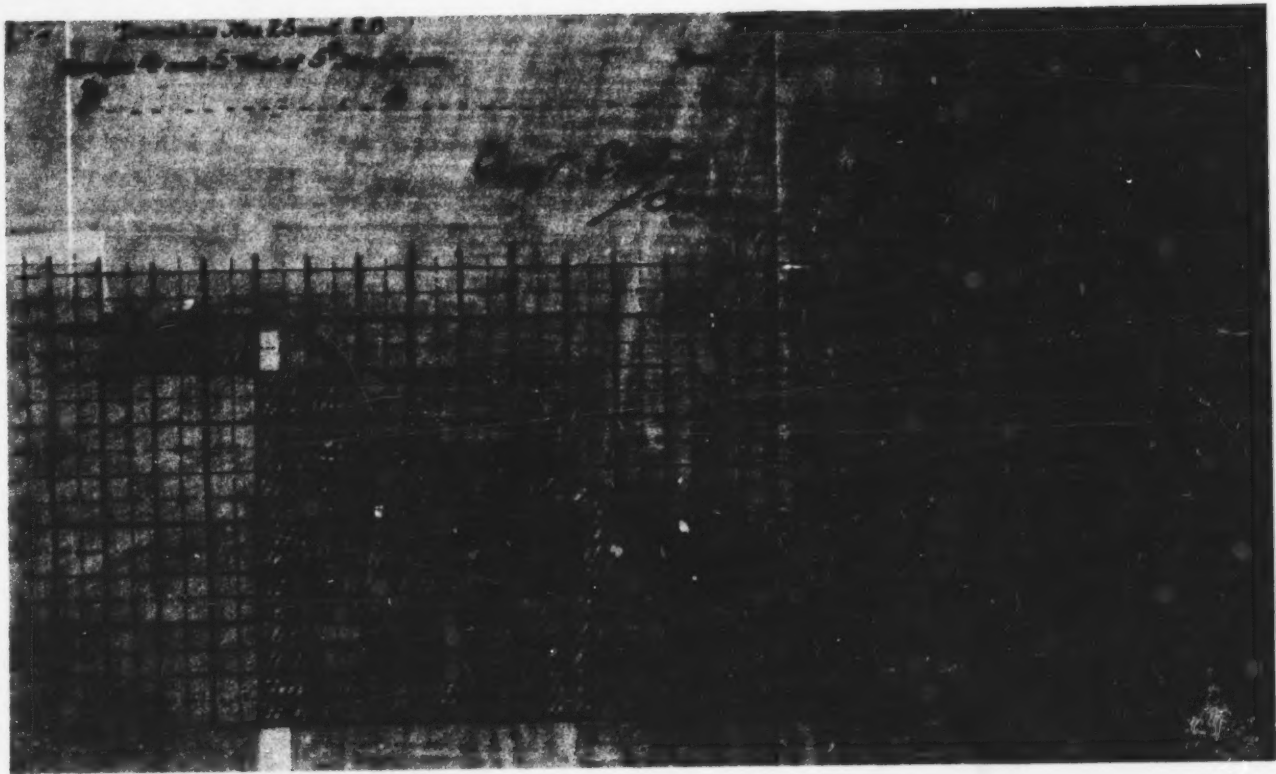
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28 Map showing the disposition of the British American
Ranche Company lease, April 1887. (Public
Archives of Canada.)



29 Map of Bow River horse ranch, December 1888.
Lands coloured pink on the original are indicated
by hatching. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)



been the last straw. Whatever the reason, at a meeting with departmental officials on 11 June, Cochrane agreed to give up the remainder of the lease "in order that there may be no obstacle, so far as the company are concerned to settlers obtaining entry for lands within the leasehold,"⁷⁷ on condition that the government sell to the company three-quarters of Section 10, Township 26, Range 4 at the going rate of \$2.00 per acre and grant Ernest Cochrane homestead entry for the remaining quarter-section. This section was the site of the company's headquarters buildings. Such a settlement was agreeable to all. On 27 September 1890 the sale of the quarter-sections to the company was finalized and Ernest Cochrane obtained his patent for the remainder on 13 April 1892.⁷⁸ (Ernest Cochrane's patent was cancelled in November 1900 in favour of the Cochrane Rancho Company and in August 1905 the patent was sold outright to Peter Collins.)

On 29 August 1888 the Calgary *Herald* carried an advertisement for the sale of 7,000 head of sheep and 41,000 acres of leasehold.⁷⁹ Most of the sheep, it is said, were bought by Thomas Ellis, a settler on Jumpingpound Creek who had come with his family from Lanark County, Ontario, in 1886.⁸⁰ The leasehold was, as noted, returned to the government. However, the company remained in the sheep-ranching business on a reduced scale for a short time as they still had 4,000 sheep on the range in 1889 although

officially classed as a non-leaseholder:⁸¹ evidently it was not possible to dump an entire flock of over 8,000 sheep on the market at once. The company itself maintained a corporate existence for some time. In 1896 it still held title to the three quarter-sections around the ranch headquarters at Cochrane, subject at that point to a writ of *fiery facias* (a writ employed against the goods of an unsuccessful defendant). This writ, dated 26 February 1896, was issued in the suit of the Cochrane ranch versus the British American ranch, the amount in question being \$1,680.33.⁸² It had evidently proved more difficult than had been foreseen to disentangle the operations of the senator's two companies.

The disappearance of the sheep-ranching operations of the British American ranch was not an isolated incident comparable to the withdrawal of the cattle operations to the south. Despite McEachran's observation in 1887 that the industry was "eminently successful,"⁸³ by 1889 the commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police could state that "The large sheep ranches are disappearing and I think the industry will resolve itself into keeping small flocks on homesteads."⁸⁴

Had the world price for wool remained high, the British American Rancho Company would have fought to stay in business. As it was, the nuisance of squatters and wolves combined with a generally unprofitable world trade situation made it simply not worthwhile to continue in operation.

Epilogue

The Bow River Horse Ranch

The Bow River horse ranch which took over the southern half of the British American lease was an English-based concern with Charles Elliot, land agent for a member of the Baring family, bankers of international repute, as president and managing director and Gilbert Goddard as resident manager. In addition to supplying the Canadian market, the promoters had great hopes for building up an export trade and in particular of supplying remounts for the cavalry regiments of the imperial army. The hope and indeed the expectation was that army purchasing commissions would visit Canada annually to fill at least part of their requirements. Though some moves were made in this direction, the scheme eventually foundered on the hostility of the British breeders.

*I make hold to say that the life of a government that in any way assists Canadian importations of horses will not be worth a month's purchase. If the Canadians wish to send us horses, let them do so; we cannot prevent them, nor do we wish to. But they must take their chance, and we will have no Government aid to the project.*¹

Despite this setback, the Bow River horse ranch was eventually able to establish a profitable market

for itself and it continued in operation until after World War I. At that time, the inroads of the internal combustion engine and Goddard's age decreed the end of the ranch. Before that could happen, however, a good deal of turbulent water flowed under the bridge.

The Cochrane interest in the Bow River district did not immediately disappear with the winding up of the British American Rancho Company for the senator maintained for a while a substantial interest in the English operation. At the time it was established he took up £1,000 worth of its stock plus holding another £1,000 worth in trust for William Lawrence and filling the position of vice-president.² Cochrane had little actual connection with the affairs of the company and probably soon withdrew entirely for the management was in a short time scarcely on speaking terms with either him or his son Ernest. Goddard and Elliott very soon came to the conclusion that the Cochranes had not been completely honest about the lease and stock descriptions. Cochrane had assured them, they claimed, that as this was the pioneer lease and he the pioneer lessee, the government had granted him greater privileges than any of the other lessees and they could be assured of quiet possession of the range for the full term.³ This was hardly the case and until 1894 when the lease was given up, the company was deeply involved in a continual and increasingly bitter struggle with the squatters and the

government. Dewdney was clearly determined to force the ranchmen to at least cancel the 1882 leases still outstanding and accept the new version allowing homesteading. To this end the Department of the Interior adopted the simple but effective tactics of either ignoring letters and complaints or being deliberately legalistic and obtuse. One example will serve. To the reasonable request that at least the Bow River horse ranch be allowed to deduct the acreage occupied by the squatters from their rent, the department replied that it could not "deduct the rental of lands occupied by squatters until such time as they have received entry with the consent of your company."⁴ Since the squatters were not there legally, they had no legal existence; therefore the question could not be discussed.

Not until Daly took over the department in October 1892 was a settlement reached. The change of atmosphere was immediate. In the margin of a letter from Goddard dated March 1893, the new minister noted: "have necessary answer prepared. It should be full and satisfactory."⁵ In short order an agreement was reached whereby Goddard, who was planning to buy out his partners in the Bow River horse ranch, might cancel the lease and buy the required acreage at

\$1.25 per acre and in the meantime deduct 160 acres for each squatter from the land on which rental was charged.⁶

The long struggle with the squatters and the department ended in 1894 when this, the last of the Cochrane ranch leases on the Bow River, was cancelled and Goddard, in partnership with E. H. Warner and W. P. Warner, took over the Bow River horse ranch and went into business on freehold property.⁷ In 1924 what remained of the ranch became a pig farm operated by a Hungarian nobleman, Baron Csavosy, who acquired the property from Goddard.

The Southern Range

Although it does not relate to the Bow River location, the history of the Cochrane ranch after its move to the southern range is worth tracing. It was a well-chosen range and under the capable management of the senator's second son, William, it became known for the high quality of beef it produced. Carefully bred stock had much to do with this, but of almost equal importance was the location, a triangle bounded on two sides by the Belly and Waterton rivers and on the third by mountains. Hence the scrub bulls which undid much of the breeding work of other ranchers were less of a problem.

The first years on the southern range were difficult ones, but these were difficulties which were shared by the entire industry. Consequent upon the heavy losses suffered by the company on the Bow River

leases, the capitalization of the company was reduced in December 1885 from a half-million to a quarter-million dollars. This represented a heavy financial loss for Cochrane for at this juncture he held 4,135 of the 5,000 shares.⁸

The first two winters were hard ones, particularly the winter of 1886-87 which was very nearly disastrous for the entire ranching industry. Following a dry and unusually hot summer in 1886 with its resulting plague of prairie fires, the cattle reached the beginning of winter in poor shape. A mild winter was needed, but snow started at the beginning of November and at the end of January the range was undergoing one of its most severe blizzards. When the losses were counted in the spring, they were estimated to average 15 per cent for the entire industry. The extent of the disaster, however, was such that it marked a turning point for the ranchers for they were finally convinced that they must abandon their complete dependence on the regular occurrence of the Chinook and make some winter provision for their stock in the way of sheds and fodder.⁹

Another initial blow was the disappointing return on the first shipment of Cochrane ranch cattle to the English market in late 1888. The consignment had arrived in England just after a shipment from the Argentine had virtually glutted the market and the Cochrane ranch had to take a loss. Nevertheless, the potential for profit was there and with William Cochrane as manager the ranch soon found its feet. The herd grew rapidly - in 1888 there were 8,800 head, the following year

10,433 head and by 1891, 12,782 head¹⁰ - and another lease, No. 300, was obtained to hold them.

Once established, the company never looked back. With the cancellation of the old leases in 1896 it purchased an enormous acreage which ensured that it would no longer be harassed; its beef continued to command a premium price, and the shareholders received their due reward. With the death of Senator Cochrane in 1903, however, the driving force left the company. James, the eldest son, had been little involved in the western operations and had spent his time managing the eastern farm, Hillhurst. Furthermore, settlers were now pouring into the West at a tremendous rate and even though the company owned its land, pressure was building on the large ranches. The ranch continued to operate for two more years, but in 1905 the Mormon Church, which had already established a colony at and around Cardston near the eastern boundary of the property, was approached. The church authorities agreed to buy the entire area, 67,000 acres, at six dollars an acre, making it one of the largest real estate deals in the Northwest to that date. The 12,000 head of stock as well as the horses, hay and ranch equipment were sold separately to Cowdry Brothers, bankers in Fort MacLeod, for

\$250,000 and they in turn disposed of them to, among others, Pat Burns.¹¹

The lands were sold 10 March 1905 and by April 1907 all the ranch assets were disposed of except one which was overlooked or considered valueless - the mineral rights. As a result the senator's descendants were no doubt pleasantly surprised when, following the discovery of oil in Alberta in 1947, they found themselves with a valuable property on their hands. As the charter of the company had never been surrendered and had remained in the name of the family, it was revived in 1949 to deal with this unexpected largesse.¹² The Dominion charter was later surrendered in favour of a provincial incorporation, but the name survives and the direct descendant of the original operation could (in 1969) be found in Calgary directories and was even more profitable than its predecessor ever was.

The ranch continued in operation after it was purchased by the Mormon Church (the Corporation of the Alberta Stake of Zion), though its area shrank steadily as more and more of the agricultural lands were taken over by Mormon colonists. The corporate entity still survives though the land it controls is in a different locale. The company was sold by the church in May 1968, at which time its land holdings covered 30,000 acres, to a livestock breeder and oil man in Calgary for \$3 million.¹³

Conclusions

In the context of 1880, the substantial financial investment in the Cochrane Rancho Company can be seen as a somewhat daring one and it is in Senator Cochrane's willingness to take this first step that the significance of the whole operation is found. Ever since the Dominion had assumed jurisdiction over the Hudson's Bay Company territory in 1869, controversy had been continuous between those who advocated immediate development by Canadians and those who often were not even sure that taking over the Northwest had been a good idea in the first place. Cochrane's large investment in the foothills of the Rockies and his influence on his fellow investors to do likewise, well before the CPR had been able to demonstrate that it could carry out its obligations, represented a necessary first step in establishing the Northwest in the confidence of other eastern capitalists.

For the ranching industry in particular, the Cochrane ranch had an almost equally great significance. Cochrane was not the only one to have advocated raising cattle in the Northwest and had he not done so, no doubt someone else would have made the same move, but he was the first to translate these ideas into reality. Others then awaited the results of the experiment before following suit themselves, as the

senator noted somewhat bitterly on occasion.¹ The lessons learned, while costly for the Cochrane ranch, enabled others to avoid many, if not all, of the pitfalls the new country laid before them. In its status as "proving ground," Big Hill led to a more realistic appraisal of the foothills as a ranching country and in particular virtually destroyed the reputation of the Bow River country as the grazing ground par excellence. Henceforth the big ranches would be found in the Pincher Creek area and to the south.

In its determination to establish high standards at the very beginning, the Cochrane ranch also set a precedent for other ranches to follow. In time the demands of the marketplace would have made this approach necessary, but Cochrane's past experience in the livestock trade had been that the initial expense of high quality always paid off in time. These standards were maintained during the difficult years at Big Hill and on the southern range, and helped establish a tradition of quality for Alberta beef.

Of considerable importance to the ranching industry was the establishment of the operating environment which owed a great deal to Cochrane's influence with the government of the day. For all practical purposes, there were in 1880 no regulations for ranching at all. Few persons of influence were interested in so academic a subject, leaving a vacuum Cochrane proceeded to fill. As a result of his lobbying inspired by self-interest, government regulation of ranches up to 1896 favoured the large, heavily capitalized,

semi-monopolistic business operation. That the growing population brought with it populist democratic sympathies which forced basic changes in those conditions was not something Cochrane could have foreseen.

Possibly of more academic significance was the rancher-settler conflict on the Cochrane leases, one of many such, but because of its proximity to the town of Calgary, an almost classic example of its type. All the elements were present — the economic investment of the rancher, the settler's overwhelming land hunger, the merchant, the politician, the railway — and produced a few dramatic years of confrontation and the eventual and inevitable victory of the settler.

The Cochrane ranch inaugurated and set the style of an era in Canadian history which, although brief in its occupation of centre stage, had a profound influence. The scale of operation it introduced represented in Canada a revolution in the beef industry comparable to that wrought for agriculture by the vast prairie wheat farms and the extensive use of machinery. It was the beginning of the era which later generations would look back on with nostalgia as "The Golden Age of Ranching."

Endnotes

Introduction

- 1 *Montreal Gazette*, 18 Nov. 1881, p. 6. "A Journey over the Plains, by D. McEachran, F.R.C.V.S."
- 2 *Montreal Gazette*, 29 Nov. 1881, p. 6, op. cit.
- 3 L. V. Kelly, *The Range Men: The Story of the Ranchers and Indians of Alberta* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), pp. 112-14. By this time ranching was an established industry in B.C. The Alkali Lake ranch, established in 1861 (possibly 1859), was probably the first and is still one of the largest in the province.
- 4 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1882* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1883), Report of Commissioner Irvine, p. 18.
- 5 Lewis G. Thomas, "The Ranching Period in Southern Alberta" (MA thesis, Univ. of Alberta, 1935), p. 22.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

The Government Presence

- 1 Canada, Laws, Statutes, etc., *Statutes, 1872* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1873) (hereafter cited as Canada, *Statutes*), cap. 23, sect. 34.
- 2 Canada, *Statutes, 1881*, cap. 16. The cabinet took over the power to revoke leases which had formerly been vested in the minister of the Interior. Since 1876, leases had been granted on the recommendation of the cabinet rather than the minister.
- 3 Canada, Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG2, 1, Vol. 211, PC 803(a) of 20 May 1881, sect. 16-21; *ibid.*, Vol. 220, PC 1710(a) of 23 Dec. 1881, sect. 16-17.
- 4 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1885* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), "Report of G. U. Ryley, Clerk of Timber, Mineral and Grazing Lands," p. 37. No order in council was considered necessary for this amendment of the form of lease according to Mr. Ryley's

comments and as confirmed by later correspondence (departmental letters of April 1888 in PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 170, file 145330).

- 5 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 532, PC 2669(a), 12 Oct. 1892.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Vol. 554, PC 1219, 22 April 1893.
- 7 John Blue, *Alberta, Past and Present* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), Vol. 1, p. 323.
- 8 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 307, PC 612, 6 April 1885.
- 9 *Ibid.*, Vol. 292, PC 1903 and PC 1904, both 6 Oct. 1884.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. 361, PC 634, 7 April 1887.
- 11 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1886* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1887), p. xxxi.
- 12 PAC, MG26, Ald, Vol. 433, p. 213234, Moreton Frewen to Sir John A. Macdonald, 5 Jan. 1886. Frewen was an Englishman of good family, married to one of the Jerome sisters and hence uncle of Sir Winston Churchill. He investigated many different careers in his lifetime including, at this stage, ranching and was successful at none of them, but thanks to a winning personality invariably landed on his feet.
- 13 Duncan McEachran, "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Early History of Livestock Quarantine in Canada," *The Agricultural Gazette of Canada*, Vol. 9, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1922), Pt. 4, p. 416.
- 14 Canada, *Statutes, 1879*, cap. 23, sects. 22 and 23; also V. C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy. The Historical Pattern* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1946), pp. 205-06.
- 15 Canada, *Report on Cattle Quarantine in Canada, 1897* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1898), p. 5.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 1907, pp. 45-46.
- 18 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 289, PC 1763, 8 Sept. 1884, Preamble.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 Alberta, University, Library, William Pearce Papers, file 1-B-6, box 2, Pearce to the Hon. Thomas White, 8 March 1888; *ibid.*, White to Pearce, 16 March 1888.

The Capitalists

- 1 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1881* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1882), Pt. I, p. 66.
- 2 William Turrentine Jackson, *The Enterprising Scot, Investors in the American West after 1873* (Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1968), p. 73.
- 3 Sheila S. Jameson, "The Era of the Big Ranches," *Alberta Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Winter 1970), p. 2.
- 4 John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great North-West* (Guelph: World Publishing Co., 1882), p. 227.
- 5 William Turrentine Jackson, op. cit., pp. 74-5.
- 6 Lewis G. Thomas, op. cit., p. 14.
- 7 *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary* (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing Co., 1881), p. 281.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 283; *The Canadian Directory of Parliament* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 127; *Lovell's Province of Quebec Directory for 1871* (Montreal: J. Lovell & Son, 1872), p. 963; *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1885*, p. 55; *ibid.*, 1901, p. 35.
- 9 *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary* (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing Co., 1881), p. 281. To be specific, the *Illustrated Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, 1881* (Toronto: H. Belden and Co., 1881), p. 12, describes the senator's property as lots 10, 11, 13 and 15, concession 6, lots 10-11, concession 7, lots 10, 11, 12, concession 8, the whole in Compton township, Compton County, and totaling 1,100 acres.
- 10 Duncan Marshall, *Shorthorn Cattle in Canada* (Dominion Shorthorn Breeders' Association, 1932), p. 116.
- 11 *The Cultivator and Country Gentleman* (Albany, N.Y.) of 12 Dec. 1872, quoted in *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary*, p. 283.

- 12 Duncan Marshall, op. cit., pp. 118-9.
- 13 Ibid., p. 125.
- 14 *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary*, p. 282.
- 15 Duncan Marshall, op. cit., p. 121.
- 16 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to the minister of the Interior, 8 May 1883.
- 17 Hew Grant Cochrane, "Autobiography" (privately mimeographed for family circulation, ca. 1958), p. 1. H. G. Cochrane, now deceased, was the senator's grandson.
- 18 *Calgary Herald*, 14 Sept. 1883-25 June 1884. The Mount Royal Rancho Company took over the Ghost River operations begun by A. P. Patrick in the spring of 1884 with the intention of going into horse raising. The *Calgary Herald* of 18 June 1884 (p. 3) notes that Mr. E. A. Baynes is on his way from the East and his arrival is expected daily.
- 19 *Montreal Gazette*, 13 Aug. 1903, p. 1; ibid., p. 4, editorial.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 1, 2, 4; for James A. Cochrane, some of the detail also comes from H. J. Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 244.
- 21 Canada. Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Companies Branch, "Cochrane Rancho Company Limited" file, enclosure "C" with "Petition for Supplementary Letters Patent," 28 Dec. 1885.
- 22 Biographical information on Duncan McEachran obtained from the following sources: Charles A. Mitchell, "A Note on the Early History of Veterinary Science in Canada," an offprint in the PAC Library from *Canadian Journal of Comparative Medicine* (1938-40), pp. 7-11, 30-33; Hazel Williamson, "Dr. Duncan McEachran, F.R.C.V.S. (Edinburgh)," monograph prepared for internal circulation in the University Archives, McGill University, and obtained through the courtesy of John Andreasson, university archivist.
- 23 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, newspaper clipping file, "Mr. & Mrs. James Walker"; *Who's Who in Canada, 1927* (Toronto: International Press), p. 380; ibid., 1936, p. 6.
- 24 *Montreal Gazette*, 18 April 1888, p. 3, "A Good Appointment."
- 25 H. J. Morgan, op. cit., p. 781; *The Canadian Directory of Parliament*, pp. 448-9.
- 26 H. J. Morgan, op. cit., 1912 ed., p. 212.
- 27 Ibid., 1898 ed., p. 171; *Lovell's Province of Quebec Directory for 1871*, p. 1069.
- 28 *Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1881-82* (Montreal: J. Lovell & Son, 1882), p. 374.
- 29 Ibid. 1880-81, pp. 448, 530; ibid., p. 467.
- 30 Frank White, "Diary," *Canadian Cattle-men*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Sept. 1948), p. 68, entry for 11 March 1884.
- 31 *The Canadian Directory of Parliament*, p. 74; *The Canadian Biographical Directory*, pp. 289-90.
- 32 *The Canadian Directory of Parliament*, p. 358.
- 33 *Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1879-80* (Montreal: J. Lovell & Son, 1880), p. 360. Subsequent editions of the directory confirm James Gibb's residence in Montreal up until 1885-86 except for a residence in London, England, in 1881-82; ibid., 1881-82, p. 400. Also, for J. R. Gibb, editions for 1880-81, 1881-82, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85, 1885-86; *The Canadian Directory of Parliament*, p. 228; PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 170, file 145330, Pt. 1, confidential memorandum (printed), J. S. Dennis to the minister of the Interior, 9 May 1881 (with reference papers of April 1888).
- 34 *The Canadian Directory of Parliament*, p. 607; *The Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register, 1880* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1881), pp. 241-2; Ruth McKenzie, *Leeds and Grenville, Their First Two Hundred Years* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 184.
- 35 *Encyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Montreal: Canadian Press Syndicate, 1904), p. 55.
- 36 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 170, file 145330, Pt. 1, confidential memorandum, J. S. Dennis to the minister of the Interior, 9 May 1881.
- 37 H. J. Morgan, op. cit., p. 974; *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965), p. 720.
- 38 PAC, MG26, Ald, Vol. 382, Pt. 1, p. 178832, T. B. Strange to Sir John A. Macdonald, 9 March 1882.
- 39 *Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1880-81*, p. 85; various city street maps in PAC, Map Division.

Foundation

- 1 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 211, PC 635, 5 May 1881. The incorporation was handled by Abbott, Tait, Witherspoon and Abbott, firm of (Sir) John Abbott, then counsel to the CPR, mayor of Montreal, and later prime minister.
- 2 Canada. Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Companies Branch, Cochrane Rancho Company, Limited, file, "Draft of Charter of Incorporation."
- 3 PAC, MG26, Alb., Vol. 209, pp. 88917-18, J. S. Dennis to Sir John A. Macdonald, 9 Feb. 1881.
- 4 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to J. S. Dennis, 26 Nov. 1880.
- 5 Ibid., M. H. Cochrane to Sir John A. Macdonald, 17 Dec. 1880.
- 6 Canada. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1880* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1881), p. viii.
- 7 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, draft lease unsigned and undated, but submitted in the spring of 1881 and probably in Cochrane's handwriting.
- 8 Ibid., D. McEachran to J. S. Dennis, 10 March 1881.
- 9 Ibid., draft of memorandum to the Privy Council, 21 Feb. 1881.
- 10 Ibid., copy of a note from Sir John A. Macdonald to Joseph Pope, 12 May 1881, enclosed in a letter of J. A. Gemmill, solicitor for the Cochrane Rancho Company, to the minister of the Interior, 31 July 1882; PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 211, PC 803(a), 20 May 1881, p. 3, clause 20. The printed figure of \$2.00 is struck out and \$1.25 inked in by hand.
- 11 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 220, PC 1710(a), 23 Dec. 1881, sect. 16d.

- 12 For example, a memo to file by G. U. Ryley, ca. June 1883, states blandly that no action was taken on Cochrane's letters of 8 May and 7 June (PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1) bringing forth Cochrane's complaint to Pope. "Mcpherson does not even answer my letters. I simply want what was promised me, no more or less" (PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 249, pp. 112553-54). This despite the fact that Cochrane's Ottawa representative was John A. Gemmill of Gemmill and May, one of the leading parliamentary solicitors, i.e., lobbyists, in the capital. As a member of the Cochrane group, his qualifications were impeccable: born in Ramsay, Lanark County, Ontario, of a good Scots family, he was educated in Scotland and admitted to the Ontario bar in 1870. He was a promoter of the British Columbia Southern Railway, an active director of several other railways, president of the Rideau Club, president of the Saint Andrew's Society (Ottawa) and a staunch Conservative. If further evidence of his fitness is required, his wife was Senator Ogilvie's daughter (*Ottawa Citizen*, 8 Nov. 1905, p. 4, and *Ottawa Evening Journal*, 7 Nov. 1905, p. 9), and he himself published a history of the Ogilvie family in 1904, *The Ogilvies of Montreal*.
- 13 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 554, PC 1219, 22 April 1893.
- 14 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 525, Pt. 1, pp. 144-5.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Ala, Vol. 82, pp. 32024-26, Lorne to Macdonald, 23 April 1882; PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 227, PC 841, 24 April 1882 forbidding sheep grazing, but to this is attached a memo from the governor general's office saying it is "to be kept back, though signed till further orders," PC 841 cancelled entirely by PC 890, 11 May 1882 (*ibid.*, Vol. 228) and replaced by PC 892, 11 May (*ibid.*) prohibiting grazing without permission in writing from the minister of the Interior.
- 16 T. Bland Strange, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee* (London: Remington and Co., 1893), p. 381.
- 17 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to the deputy minister of the Interior, 31 May 1881.
- 18 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A/W181A, Col. James Walker, "The Coming of the N.-W.M.P. (1874) and Reminiscences," p. 24. An address given at the Alberta Military Institute, Calgary, Alberta, 11 March 1924; *ibid.*, newspaper clipping file, "Mr. & Mrs. James Walker," undated, unidentifiable clipping.
- 19 For example, in October 1882, Frank White tried to hire some of the Poin-dexter and Orr hands. Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 8, No. 4 (March 1946), p. 241, entries for 20-23 Oct. 1882.
- 20 *Montreal Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1881, p. 6, "No sooner did we enter the Dominion than a most marked improvement was at once observable in the soil and the pasture, an improvement which continued to increase till we reached our destination at the Bow River."
- 21 *Toronto Globe*, 11 Dec. 1882, p. 3.
- 22 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A.H. 372, fol. 1, F.W.G. Haultain to his mother, 8 June 1885.
- 23 Phil S. Long, *The Great Canadian Range* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), pp. 40-41.
- 24 *Montreal Gazette*, 12 April 1881, p. 8.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 26 April 1881, p. 8, quoting *The Colonies and India*, of 9 April.
- 26 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file D971 2/ M147 *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, 29 Oct. 1881, a clipping in the scrapbook "Lord Lorne's Expedition to the North West."
- 27 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 170, file 145330, Pt. 1, confidential memorandum, Dennis to minister, 9 May 1881 (with April 1888). The others were J. P. Wiser, MP, the Hon. T. N. Gibbs, E. H. Stimson, Esq., D. Ford Jones, MP, Capt. Milburn, Allan P. Patrick.
- 28 *Montreal Gazette*, 18 Nov. 1881, p. 6, "A Journey over the Plains," by Dr. McEachran.
- 29 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, memo to file containing "Extract from letter of Sec'y of the Cochrane Co. dated 13 May 1881"; *ibid.*, M. H. Cochrane to deputy minister, 31 May 1881.
- 30 *Montreal Gazette*, 27 April 1881, p. 1.
- 31 *Canada Gazette*, Vol. 16, p. 568, 7 Oct. 1882.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 22, 8 July 1882.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 569, 7 Oct. 1882.
- 34 Canada, Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Corporations Branch, "Dominion Cattle Co." file, G. W. Burbidge, deputy minister of Justice, to the secretary of state, 4 Aug. 1882. Also the names of H. G. Wiser and W. P. Herring were left off, as J. P. Wiser had signed their names without a power of attorney. As they were not immediately available to sign in person, they had to be omitted.
- 35 T. B. Strange, op. cit., p. 381.
- 36 C. M. MacInnes, *In the Shadow of the Rockies* (London: Rivingtons, 1930), pp. 176, 178.
- 37 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, newspaper clipping file, "Mr. & Mrs. James Walker." At least three of the undated and unidentified clippings in the file mention this fact.
- 38 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1882* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1883), Pt. 3, "Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1882," p. 16.
- 39 *Montreal Gazette*, 29 Nov. 1881, p. 6.
- 40 T. B. Strange, op. cit., p. 388.
- 41 *Montreal Gazette*, 29 Nov. 1881, p. 6.

Empire

- 1 *Montreal Gazette*, 18 Nov. 1881, p. 6.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file D971 2/ M147, letters of Rev. James McGregor to the *Edinburgh Courant*, "Lord Lorne's Expedition to the North West," letter of 29 Sept. 1881 from Helena, Montana, published in 21 Oct. issue (on p. 27 of scrapbook); *ibid.*, A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes" (unpaginated).

- 4 Chicago *Times*, quoted in the Montreal *Gazette*, 9 June 1881, p. 8, "The Western Cattle Trade."
- 5 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, D. McEachran to Col. J. S. Dennis, 10 March 1881.
- 6 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, clipping file, "Mr. & Mrs. James Walker."
- 7 Ibid., A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
- 8 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 147-8.
- 9 Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1881* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1882), Pt. 1, "Extract from the Report of Lachlan Kennedy, D.L.S., on the Survey of the Township Outlines in the Bow River District," p. 65.
- 10 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file D971.2/M147, letter of Rev. James McGregor, 29 Sept. 1881 at Helena, Montana, and published 21 Oct. in the *Edinburgh Courant* (p. 27 of scrapbook).
- 11 Ibid., letter dated 7 Oct. 1881 at Chicago and published 27 Oct.
- 12 *Canadian Illustrated News*, 25 Nov. 1882, p. 339; Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 8, No. 4 (March 1946), p. 245, entry for 24 Oct. 1882. Strange described it (T. B. Strange, op. cit., p. 393): "where grown cattle have to be rebranded or vented, to save time and labour, they are driven into a long shoot, at the end of which is a sort of swing fence hinged with raw hide to a post fastened horizontally on the ground and gradually drawn to the opposite side by a winch. It secures the animal during branding. The iron is inserted between the bars of the shoot."
- 13 Ibid., letter of 29 Sept., published 21 Oct. 1881; Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1881* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1882), Pt. 1, "Extract from the Report of Lachlan Kennedy, D.L.S., on the Survey of the Township Outlines in the Bow River District," p. 65.
- 14 Ibid., file A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
- 15 Sheilagh S. Jameson, op. cit., p. 4; W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes," reproducing Major Walker's estimate of stock as of 1 April 1882.
- 16 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, C. C. Colby to the minister of the Interior, 14 Feb. 1882; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, file 1687, Baynes, per J. Abbott, to the minister of the Interior, 17 Feb. 1882; *ibid.*, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, Brooks to the minister of the Interior, 21 Feb. 1882.
- 17 Ibid., M.H.C. to minister, 17 Feb. 1882.
- 18 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 226, PC 722, 11 April 1882, "Schedule of proposed Grazing Leases accompanying Report of the Minister of the Interior, to the Hon. the Privy Council dated March 1882."
- 19 Mitchell was clearly one of the Eastern Townships-Montreal "set" with the right background and all the required directorships, but for some reason nothing ever came of his ranching lease, although it abutted those of Colby and Brooks. It was cancelled in August 1886.
- 20 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, C. C. Colby to a Mr. Hamilton of the Department of the Interior, 27 March 1882.
- 21 Ibid., memo to file, G. U. Ryley, 21 Feb. 1883.
- 22 T. B. Strange, op. cit., p. 383; *The Canadian Directory of Parliament* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 248.
- 23 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 149-50.
- 24 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A.K39, Kerfoot's "General Notes."
- 25 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 152.
- 26 PAC, MG30, C1, Vol. 5, diary of Otto J. Klotz, p. 265, entry for 21 Sept. 1882. There is some evidence that Frank White was the brother of Fred White, comptroller of the N-WMP, but it has not been possible to confirm this.
- 27 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
- 28 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 8, No. 4 (March 1946), pp. 189, 241, entries from the end of September until mid-October; *ibid.*, p. 189, entries for 8 Oct. and 10 Oct. 1882.
- 29 Ibid., p. 245, entry for 1 Nov. 1882; Canada, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1884* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1885), Pt. 6, "Report of the Deputy Head upon his Visit to the North-West," p. 12.
- 30 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 152.
- 31 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to the minister of the Interior, 8 May 1883.
- 32 Ibid., 7 June 1883.
- 33 As previously noted, he could scarcely persuade the department to answer him, much less sell him land. The letter of 8 May was to remind the department that they had not answered his of the previous November.
- 34 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 9, No. 1, (June 1946), p. 165, entry for 6 April 1883.
- 35 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 158.
- 36 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 165, entry for 24 March 1883.
- 37 Robert McDougall, "The Cochrane Ranch, 1881-1894, A Local History" (monograph prepared for the Social Studies Council, Alberta Teachers Association), p. 18.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Sheilagh S. Jameson, op. cit., p. 6. A possibly apocryphal but nonetheless illustrative anecdote.
- 40 D. E. Brown, "A History of the Cochrane Area" (M.A. diss., Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, 1951), p. 64.
- 41 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 151.
- 42 D. E. Brown, loc. cit.
- 43 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A.B878A, "I Remember," recollection of John George "Kootenai" Brown, related verbatim to W. McD. Tait, p. 131.
- 44 Ibid., file D971.2/M147, letters of Rev. James McGregor, 9 Sept. 1881, published 21 Oct. 1881.
- 45 PAC, MG26, A1e, Vol. 525, Pt. 1, pp. 144-5, Macdonald to Macpherson, 8 June 1883.
- 46 Ibid., Alb. Vol. 249, pp. 112545-51, Macpherson to Macdonald.

- 47 Ibid., Vol. 443, pp. 213233-36, Frewen to Macdonald, 5, Jan. 1886. Frewen's qualifications to judge Senator Cochrane's ranching abilities are of dubious merit. One of his schemes to get rich involved a ranch in Wyoming, but it eventually did no more than cost his backers a great deal of money.
 - 48 Canada. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1884* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1885), Pt. 6, "Report of the Deputy Head upon his Visit to the North-West," p. 12.
- Sales and Services**
- 1 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 51.
 - 2 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
 - 3 Ibid.
 - 4 John Blue, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 331.
 - 5 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
 - 6 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 216.
 - 7 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 9, No. 1 (June 1946), p. 62, entries for 2 and 3 Dec. 1882; p. 61, entry for 24 Nov. 1882.
 - 8 Ibid., p. 8.
 - 9 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, file A.K39, W. D. Kerfoot's "General Notes."
 - 10 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 8, No. 4 (March 1946), p. 188, entry for 27 Sept. 1882. How many shares Walker had in the venture at this point is not known. When the company was formed he took up 100 with a face value of \$10,000.
- The British American Rancho Company**
- 1 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to the minister of the Interior, 22 March 1883, enclosing the assignments.
 - 2 Ibid., 7 June 1883.
 - 3 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 249, pp. 112553-54, M. H. Cochrane to Joseph Pope, 18 June 1883.
 - 4 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane (per Mr. Gemmill) to the minister of the Interior, 20 March 1883.
 - 5 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 249, pp. 112346-47, C. C. Colby to D. L. Macpherson, 21 March 1883, enclosed in a note from Macpherson to John A. Macdonald, 22 March 1883, pp. 112348-49.
 - 6 Ibid., pp. 112542-44, Macpherson to Macdonald, 7 June 1883; and pp. 112545-51, 10 June 1883; ibid., Ale, Vol. 525, Pt. 1, letter book 22, Pt. 1, pp. 144-5, Macdonald to Macpherson, 8 June 1883.
 - 7 Ibid., Vol. 525, Pt. 1, letter book, Macdonald to Alexander Campbell, on ranching proposal of his brother Charles, 23 June 1883.
 - 8 Ibid., Vol. 249, pp. 112553-54, M. H. Cochrane to Pope, 18 June 1883.
 - 9 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, John R. Hall, acting secretary, to J. A. Gemmill, 11 July 1883.
 - 10 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 249, pp. 112545-51, Macpherson to Macdonald, 10 June 1883.
 - 11 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 292, PC 1903, 6 Oct. 1884.
 - 12 Ibid., PC 1904, 6 Oct. 1884.
 - 13 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sept. 1948), p. 68, entries for 1 Feb.-11 March 1884.
 - 14 Ibid., p. 111, entry for 6 June 1884.
 - 15 Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 4 (March 1949), p. 235, entry for 6 July 1884. White set out to ranch on his own and took over lease No. 46 on the western border of the Big Hill spread. In 1881 this had been granted to R. Talbot Macdonell and Eneas R. Macdonell of Oban, Argyleshire, Scotland (PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 300, PC 176, 3 Feb. 1885), but at their own request the lease was cancelled. White also received a slice from the western edge of the Cochrane leases.
 - 16 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 11, No. 2 (29 Sept. 1948), p. 68, entry for 19 Feb. 1884.
 - 17 Canada. Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Companies Branch, British American Rancho Company file.
 - 18 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sept. 1948), p. 68, entry for 19 Feb. 1884.
 - 19 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 226, PC 722, 11 April 1882, "Schedule of Application." Possibly the British American Rancho Company also made use of lease No. 45, originally granted to Allan Patrick, a well-known Dominion lands surveyor. This lease, 12,000 acres on the north-west corner of the main Cochrane lease, was assigned to E. A. Baynes in June 1883. It is also quite possible that it represents an attempt by Baynes to start his own venture.
 - 20 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 2, file 1687, P. B. Douglas to the deputy minister of Justice, 26 March 1885; deputy minister of Justice to deputy minister of the Interior, 7 April 1885.
 - 21 Robert McDougall, op. cit., p. 20.
 - 22 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, William Pearce to deputy minister of the Interior, 28 March 1889. The Gang ranch was established by the Harper brothers in the southern interior of British Columbia about 1863. It was, and still is, one of the largest ranches in that province (Thomas R. Weir, *Ranching in the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia* [Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1964], pp. 90-91).
 - 23 Stock figures in this paragraph obtained from PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, stock returns, May 1885, 12 Sept. 1885, Nov. 1886, 12 Nov. 1887, Aug. 1888.
 - 24 Ibid., "Extract from the Minutes of the British American Rancho Co. Ltd. of date Twenty fifth June 1888."
 - 25 John Blue, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 345.
 - 26 *Calgary Herald*, 16 April 1884, p. 2.
 - 27 The newspaper reports (*Calgary Herald*, 17 Sept. 1884, p. 4) say 8,000 sheep; the customs declaration, submitted 29 Aug. 1884 (PAC, RG15, B2a, file 11007, customs entry No. 12, 29 Aug. 1884, "Statement Shewing the number of Horses, Cattle and Sheep, and the Name of Importer, entered in the District of Alberta, from the 1st June 1880") says 7,000 sheep - and four horses.
 - 28 *Calgary Herald*, 15 Oct. 1884, p. 1.
 - 29 Ibid., 24 Sept. 1884, p. 1.

- 30 Canada. Department of the Interior. *Annual Report of the Year 1884* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1885). Part 6. "Report of the Deputy Head Upon his Visit to the North-West," p. 12.
- 31 *Calgary Herald*, 2 April 1885, p. 3; 16 April 1885, p. 1.
- 32 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., p. 178. Neither the freak accident nor the high rate of loss during lambing are mentioned in the *Calgary Herald*; the prairie fire story is corroborated by the *Herald*, but the 400 sheep it mentions as killed become 1,000 in Kelly's account.
- 33 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, "Return of Stock . . ." *Calgary*, May 1885.
- 34 Ibid., stock returns dated May 1885, 12 Sept. 1885, Nov. 1886, 12 Nov. 1887 and Aug. 1888.
- 35 *Calgary Herald*, 5 Oct. 1883, p. 1. The mill was to be erected on Fish Creek by Samuel William Shaw. It was a long time coming to fruition due to quarrels with the Calgary municipality over tax arrangements and was still being projected in 1889. In the following year it was finally started, but this time the British American Rancho Company had left the scene (Canada. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1889* [Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890]. "Report of William Pearce, Superintendent of Mines, to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands," p. 22; also the same for 1890, p. 14).
- 36 *Calgary Herald*, 15 (or 5) July 1885, p. 4. The issues of the newspaper in this volume have either been misbound or misprinted as the date lines vary within the issues.
- 37 Robert McDougall, op. cit., p. 21.
- 38 D. E. Brown, op. cit., pp. 63, 64, 117.
- 39 L. V. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 249-50.
- 40 Robert McDougall, loc. cit.
- 41 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 270, pp. 123152-55, Stephen to Macdonald, 23 April 1886.
- 42 B. Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia*, quoted in Robert McDougall, op. cit., p. 22, n. 84.
- 43 Canada. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1889* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890), Pt. 3, "Report of William Pearce, Superintendent of Mines, to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands," p. 22.
- 44 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, memo to Mr. Ryley, 6 Sept. 1888. This total, which is not differentiated, must have included railway, Hudson's Bay Company and school lands, etc., since if the railway took every single odd-numbered section this would only total 94,500 acres out of the 189,000 total.
- 45 Ibid., Browning to the minister of the Interior, 2 Sept. 1885. Browning feared it would "lead to the breaking up of our lease, and consequent abandonment of Ranching operations in that section of the country." No doubt there was also in the back of the corporate mind the ever-present possibility that the government could always be persuaded to retreat in a crisis through the use of pressures to which the CPR was far less susceptible.
- 46 *Toronto Globe*, 11 Dec. 1882, p. 3.
- 47 The senator considered him a rather fly-by-night type and to ensure that he never got his hands on any Cochrane money, settled only an income and no cash on his daughter Eleanor, Baynes's wife (Interview with members of the Cochrane family, 9 April 1970).
- 48 *Toronto Globe*, loc. cit.
- 49 *Montreal Gazette*, 7 May 1884, p. 5.
- 50 Canada. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for the Year 1884* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1885), Pt. 6, "Report of the Deputy Head upon his Visit to the North-West," p. 12.
- 51 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 525, Pt. 2, letter book 22, Pt. 2, p. 392, Macdonald to George B. Elliott of the Calgary *Nor'Wester*, 8 May 1884.
- 52 Frank White, op. cit., Vol. 9, No. 4 (March 1947), p. 244, entries for 17, 19 and 20 May 1883.
- 53 Sheilagh S. Jameson, op. cit., p. 8.
- 54 C. M. MacInnes, op. cit., p. 243.
- 55 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 414, p. 200495, Samuel Livingstone to Sir John A. Macdonald, telegram, 6 April 1885.
- 56 David H. Breen, "Plain Talk from Plain Western Men," *Alberta Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer 1970), p. 10.
- 57 PAC, MG26, Alb, Vol. 193, pp. 80356-58, George F. Clarke to A. M. Burgess, 8 May 1885.
- 58 There was no order in council for this change in the lease. In 1888, when an effort was being made to trace the authority for this change, Mr. Ryley, the chief clerk in the Timber and Grazing Branch, reported, "The authority of Council was never asked . . . and there is no written authority on file from the Minister authorizing such an insertion, but I think he gave me instructions orally, in the presence of the Deputy to see that such a clause was inserted in the lease" (PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 170, file 145330, Pt. 1, memo, Ryley to Hume, 17 May 1888).
- 59 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, William Pearce to the Dominion lands commissioner, Winnipeg, 19 Dec. 1888, forwarded to the Department of the Interior under cover of a letter from the Dominion lands commissioner dated 27 Dec. 1888. Pearce stated that he did not believe this assertion.
- 60 Ibid., Pearce to A. M. Burgess, deputy minister of the Interior, 29 May 1886.
- 61 Ibid., 27 Oct. 1886. The senator, at a private meeting between himself and White, agreed to give up all of Township 24 except sections 32 and 34 on which he planned to erect sheep sheds and use as headquarters for part of the flock of sheep. He also agreed to surrender the east half, Township 25, and the east half, Township 26, Range 5, so that it might be leased by Frank White.
- 62 *Calgary Tribune*, 4 March 1887, clipping in PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, Burgess to M. H. Cochrane, 31 March 1887.

- 65 Ibid., Hon. Thomas White to J. M. Browning, 28 May 1887.
- 66 Ibid., J. M. Browning to Hon. Thomas White, 26 May 1887, quoting letter of Ernest B. Cochrane to British American Rancho Company directors, 14 May 1887.
- 67 Ibid., A. M. Burgess to Hon. Thomas White, 20 Aug. 1887.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid., William Pearce to Dominion lands commissioner, 19 Dec. 1888.
- 70 His letters and reports, both in the Public Archives and the University of Alberta library, are a joy to read, being full of information, well written and containing acute observations and judgements of men, motives and events, yet always careful to present both sides of a question. Surprisingly enough, his forthright opinions do not seem to have offended officials of the Department of the Interior who normally gave short shrift to any suggestions from the outside civil service. Though, probably unfortunately, his advice was not always followed, it was invariably sought and great reliance was placed on his ability as a negotiator and conciliator.
- 71 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, Pearce to Dominion lands commissioner, 19 Dec. 1888; *ibid.*, petition dated 12 Jan. 1889 from the residents of Calgary district to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, forwarded by D. W. Davis, MP. Davis's role in this is somewhat equivocal. At almost the same time as he was championing settlers against the ranch leases, he was writing in concert with Cochrane to Macdonald, complaining of the injury that would be done the ranching industry of Alberta if the government awarded beef contracts to the Fort Benton firm of T. C. Power and Bros. (PAC, MG26, Ald, Vol. 460, p. 229132, D. W. Davis and M. H. Cochrane to Macdonald, 9 June 1888). Davis was a Vermont Yankee who did not arrive in the Northwest, or Canada, until 1870 (as a trader with I. G. Baker and Company), but his rapid rise to prominence shows he possessed all the native shrewdness attributed to that breed.

- 72 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, Pearce to Burgess, 22 Aug. 1887, and to Dominion lands commissioner, 19 Dec. 1888.
- 73 Ibid., Pt. 2, memorandum, Burgess to Dewdney, 10 April 1889.
- 74 Ibid., Pt. 1, Robertson, Fleet and Falconer, advocates, to the minister of the Interior, 23 Aug. 1888.
- 75 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 411, PC 34, 14 Jan. 1889.
- 76 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 2, Burgess to Dewdney, confidential memo dated 26 Jan. 1889.
- 77 Ibid., Burgess to M. H. Cochrane, 13 June 1889.
- 78 Alberta, Department of Natural Resources, Supervisor of Homesteads and Leases, Edmonton.
- 79 *Calgary Herald*, 29 Aug. 1888, p. 8.
- 80 D. E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- 81 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 23, file 192192, Stock Return under cover of a letter from Pearce to the secretary, Department of the Interior, 15 Jan. 1890.
- 82 Alberta, Land Titles Office, Calgary, Register K, No. 189.
- 83 John Blue, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 345.
- 84 Ibid., p. 346. L. V. Kelly (*op. cit.*, p. 227) also notes the decline of sheep ranching dating from 1889 due to winter losses and the continued low price of wool.

Epilogue

- 1 *Montreal Gazette*, 12 April 1888, p. 7, "Canadian Army Horses," quoting "Alert" in the *Live Stock Journal*.
- 2 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 2, Pearce to Hon. E. Dewdney, 28 March 1889.
- 3 Ibid., Charles Elliott, English manager, Bow River horse ranch, to Hon. E. Dewdney, 14 Sept. 1889.
- 4 Ibid., Lynwode Pereira, secretary, Department of the Interior, to Charles Elliott, 16 June 1890.
- 5 Ibid., note on letter, Gilbert Goddard to Hon. T. M. Daly, 2 March 1893.
- 6 Ibid., Department of the Interior to Goddard, 18 May 1893 and 23 May 1893.

- 7 D. E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

- 8 Canada, Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Companies Branch, Cochrane Rancho Company Ltd. file; *ibid.*, enclosure "C" with "Petition for Supplementary Letters Patent," 28 Dec. 1885. At this stage the other shareholders were J. M. Browning, 100 shares and 250 shares in trust; James Cochrane, 100 shares; Louis Huet Massue, 100 shares; Hon. G. A. Drummond, 100 shares; Dr. McEachran, 100 shares; James Gibb, 100 shares; E. T. Brooks, 15 shares.
- 9 John Blue, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 323; William Turrentine Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- 10 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 23, file 192192, Stock Returns.
- 11 *Canadian Cattleman*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (Sept. 1945), pp. 88-89; Glenbow-Alberta Institute, clipping file, "Cochrane Rancho Co. (Ltd.)," article from *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, ca. 1911.
- 12 Canada, Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Companies Branch, Cochrane Rancho Co. Ltd., file, "Draft of Supplementary Letters Patent," 8 Dec. 1949.
- 13 Sheilagh S. Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Conclusions

- 1 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, M. H. Cochrane to Macpherson, 7 June 1883.

Illustration Sources

- 10 PAC, RG2, 1, Vol. 226, with PC 722 of 11 April 1882.
- 11 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1.
- 13 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 10, file 142709, Pt. 1, between letters of 17 Feb. and 15 May 1882.
- 16 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, with memo of 5 April 1887.
- 25 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 2.
- 28 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, April 1887.
- 29 PAC, RG15, B2a, Vol. 5, file 137261, Pt. 1, with draft memo of 5 Jan. 1889.

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